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ACCOUNT OF THE CARACAS, IN SOUTH AMERICA.

From the Travels of F. Depons.

THAT part of South America which lies between the mouths of the Orinoco and Cape de la Vela, is little known in Europe, except to the Spaniards. Though the first part of the continent discovered by Columbus; though the spot selected by Las Casas for the trial of his scheme to civilize the Indians; through the region of the once celebrated, but now forgotten, *El Dorado*; and though a country eminently fruitful, and infinitely more salubrious than any of the neighbouring districts, and recently become the seat of an extensive and increasing commerce, we should search in vain for any adequate history or account of it in our books of geography or statistics. Destitute of the precious metals, it was abandoned to neglect by the court of Spain, after having been made a theatre of the most horrid and sanguinary devastations by its agents; and, for more than a century and a half, its interior was explored by none but missionaries, and its coasts frequented only by smugglers. Du-

ring the last century, when it attracted again the attention of the mother country, it seems to have been visited by no Spaniard whose curiosity led him to inquire into its natural resources and productions, and certainly by none who has been permitted to communicate the result of his inquiries to the public.

None of the conquests made by the discoverers of the new world was disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Caracas. The Indians who inhabited the country at the arrival of the Spaniards were fierce and savage, and the cruelties of their invaders drove them to despair. They were not united, as in Mexico and Peru, under a single head, but divided into small tribes, who fought separately for their independence. The nature of their country was favourable for defence, being mountainous and difficult of access, and intersected with innumerable rivers, which, for a great part of the year, overflow their banks. The progress of the invaders was therefore slow, and their steps were marked with

devastation and blood. But the natives were at length exterminated or reduced to subjection. The prisoners taken in war were hurried to the shore and sold to slave merchants, who hovered over the coast like birds of prey, in expectation of these victims, to replace the sufferers from bigotry and avarice at St. Domingo. In no part of the Spanish settlements have the missionaries contributed so little to the reduction of the country as in Caracas.

The captain-generalship of Caracas consists of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the isle of Margarita. It extends along the coast from long. 75° to long. 61° W. from Paris, and from north to south it reaches from lat. 12° N. to the equator. It is bounded by the sea, by Dutch, French, and Portuguese Guiana, and by the viceroyalty of New Granada. It may be necessary to remind our readers, that the Spanish settlements in America are divided into four viceroyalties, Mexico, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada; and into five captain-generalships, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, Caracas, and Chili. The captain-general is an officer of inferior dignity to the viceroy, but is quite independent of his authority.

The temperature of this country is moderated by a chain of mountains which traverses it from west to east, extending from the lake of Maracaibo to the isle of Trinidad. The highest point of this ridge is near the city of Caracas, having 1278 toises of height; but, in general, it is much less elevated. To the south of these mountains there is an extensive plain, extremely hot, watered by the Orinoco and its tributary streams. The mountains of Caracas are covered with wood fit for ship-building and for every other purpose; and they contain some gold mines, though of little value, which were at one time worked, but have been long since abandoned. There is a copper mine in the province of Venezuela, from which a small quantity of excellent copper is an-

nually extracted. It is used by the planters in their sugar-works in preference to iron, on account of its cheapness, being sold at 15 dollars per cwt. A small quantity is also exported at Porto Cabello.

The pearl fishery near the isle of Margarita, which first attracted the Spaniards to this coast, has been long since abandoned; and it is said that pearls are no longer to be found there.

Bay-salt is gathered in great abundance, and of excellent quality, in many places along the coast of Venezuela. Near Araya there is a mine of rock-salt, which might be worked to great advantage, were it not for the royal monopoly, which prevents any one from trading in salt except the king.

The seasons are divided into wet and dry in Caracas, as in other tropical countries. The rainy season begins in May, and ends in December. While it lasts, there is rain for three hours a day, at an average, throughout the country. The rain falls in torrents, fills the ravines, and makes the rivers overflow their banks. Earthquakes are much less common in Caracas than in Peru. When there are long intervals between the thunder-storms, it is observed that earthquakes are more frequent.

The lake of Maracaibo is 150 feet in circumference, and communicates with the sea. Its water is fresh, but at times brackish. It abounds in fish; and is navigable for ships of considerable burden. At its north-east corner there is a very copious spring of mineral pitch; and from this a constant exhalation of inflammable vapours, which are phosphorescent during the night, and serve as a beacon to the Indians and Spaniards who navigate the lake. The place is called, on this account, the Beacon of Maracaibo. The banks of the lake are sterile and unwholesome, so that the Indians prefer living in villages, built on shallows in the midst of the water. When the Spaniards first arrived on this coast,

the number of these villages was so great, that they gave to the province the name of *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. Four of them are still preserved, and their inhabitants earn their subsistence by catching fish in the lake, and by hunting for wild ducks, in the manner described by Ulloa. They take care that a number of empty calabashes are continually floating on the lake, that the ducks may be accustomed to them, and without fear at seeing them approach. The hunter then goes into the lake, with a calabash over his head, having holes in it for seeing and breathing. Nothing is seen above the water except the calabash, which appears to be floating on the lake. Thus accoutred, he moves with the greatest stillness towards the ducks, and catching one by the leg, he pulls it suddenly under the water, before it has time to alarm the rest; and, in this way, he goes on till he has caught as many as he wants.

The rivers which take their rise on the north side of the mountains are short and rapid in their course, and run directly into the sea. They might be usefully employed for irrigation; and they are well adapted for conveying lumber to the coast. Some of them are navigable to a considerable distance from the sea. The rivers which rise on the south side of the mountains flow through a flat country, which they inundate in the rainy season, and are at last received into the Orinico.

Porto Cabello is the best harbour upon this coast, or in all America. It is large, safe, and commodious; sheltered from every wind; calm, however much the sea is agitated; deep; and has good anchoring-ground. Guayra, the harbour of Caracas, is the most frequented port on this coast, though it is only a miserable roadstead. In the gulf of Paria there is good anchorage, from 8 to 30 fathoms deep; and on the coast of Paria, they are several harbours and roadsteads, by which there is a ready communication with Trinidad. There are many other

harbours on the coast of Caracas, but none of any great note.

The whole population of Caracas is 728,000 souls, of which 500,000 belong to the provinces of Venezuela and Varinas, 100,000 to Maracai-bo, 80,000 to Cumana, 34,000 to Spanish Guiana, and 14,000 to the Isle of Margarita. The whites form one fifth of this population, the slaves three tenths, the free people of colour two fifths, and the Indians one tenth.

There are few Europeans in Caracas, except those sent out in the service of the state; including whom, not a hundred Spaniards settle annually in the province. But of those who go to America, very few return to their native country, except the Biscayners and Catalans. The Spaniards are not permitted to visit their American settlements, without a license from the king, which cannot be obtained, unless the object of their journey is known and approved of by the council of the Indies; and the license granted to them is in general limited to two years residence, leave to settle not being obtained without the greatest difficulty. Even the Creoles, who have gone to Spain for their education, cannot return to their native country without a license. So strict was the government formerly on this subject, that a passport to one province did not authorize the bearer of it to go to another. These severe, but ill executed laws, were dictated in part by political fears and jealousies; but their principal source was in that spirit of monastic regulation; in those maxims of religious bigotry and austerity, which have been so long cultivated with such mischievous effects in Spain. Instead of considering its colonies as a place of refuge for the idle, the profligate and the disaffected, where they might learn to amend their lives, and, if possible, forget their errors, the Spanish court has watched over its foreign settlements with the solicitude of a duenna, and regulated their government as if they were to be inhabited by Carthusians. No

Spaniard could get permission to go to America, without a certificate of his moral and religious character, and an attestation that none of his forefathers, for three generations back, had suffered in an *auto da fé*, or carried the infamous *san-benito*. Foreigners of all descriptions were kept out of these countries with the greatest care; and if tolerated, by the connivance of the viceroys, they were subjected to every inconvenience and oppression. But of late years, so much have these ancient maxims of Spanish policy fallen into disregard, that, by a royal cedula of 1801, foreigners are permitted to settle in the Spanish colonies, for the payment of 8200 reals (about 86l. sterling) to the crown; and, for the same sum, they may be admitted to all the privileges of natural born Spaniards, provided they are of the catholic persuasion, and not otherwise disqualified by law.

The Creoles are of quick apprehension, and capable of greater application to business or study than their West Indian neighbours; but their education is miserably conducted. They are taught, in their infancy, the miracles and legends of their saints; and made to observe, with the most scrupulous attention, all the minute practices and observances of their religion. They are then instructed in Latin; and their education is supposed to be finished, when they have acquired a little scholastic learning, and attended the lectures of some professor in theology or law. Their ignorance of all sorts of useful knowledge is extreme, and can only be equalled by their contempt for all useful occupations. The care and improvement of their estates they esteem an object beneath their notice, and hold all professions in disdain, except the law, the army, and the church. Family pride, of the lowest and most illiberal cast, is one of their ruling passions; and this has been fostered by a preposterous regulation, which, till lately, obtained in all the dominions of Spain; empowering children, as soon as they

attained the age of puberty, to compel their parents to consent to their marriage with whom they pleased, provided it was not with a person of inferior birth. This law was abolished in 1803; and the authority of parents over their children, in the article of marriage, extended to twenty-five years of age for males, and to twenty-three for females; but, while it lasted, the objections to which it gave rise, on the ground of *mis-alliance*, were a continual source of heart burnings and dissensions in the Spanish colonies. Litigiousness is another fault of the Spanish Creoles. Lawsuits cost in Caracas 1,200,008 dollars annually; and, in Cuba, in 1792, a population of 254,000 souls found employment for 106 advocates, with a proportional number of attornies and notaries, while the French part of St. Domingo, with a population of 660,000 souls, maintained only 36.

With these shades in their character, the Creoles of Caracas are mild and humane, moderate in their desires, and cautious, even to timidity, in their conduct, and in the management of their affairs. This turn of mind was strongly exemplified some years ago, in the attempt which was then made to excite them to take up arms against the mother country, and to throw off her yoke. This conspiracy had its origin with three state prisoners, who had been sent from Spain to Caracas on account of their revolutionary delinquencies at home. These persons, who were condemned to perpetual banishment and imprisonment, being treated with great indulgence at Caracas, and permitted to have free intercourse with the natives, formed the project of a conspiracy against the government; but, though they engaged several persons of consequence in their party, such was the coldness and apathy of the Creoles, that, after their first converts, they made no progress in gaining proselytes. After the plot had been kept a profound secret for many months, it was disclosed to the government. Some of the ring-

leaders escaped; others were taken; but no resistance was attempted. It was found that 72 persons had entered into the conspiracy, six of whom were taken and executed; the rest either escaped, or were sent to the galleys, or banished from the colony.

The Spanish Creoles marry in general as soon as they attain the age of puberty. An unmarried man of twenty begins to be looked upon as an old bachelor. It is not unusual to see a married couple, whose united ages do not make thirty. These early marriages are neither productive of happiness, nor conducive to morals. Fidelity to the marriage bed is equally disregarded by both parties. But, if any difference arises, the advantage is on the side of the wife; for she can have her husband reprimanded or imprisoned, whenever she chooses to complain of his conduct; and if he should recriminate, she is sure that her story will be listened to in preference to his.

Religious scruples have prevented the Spaniards from engaging in the African slave trade; but, with the casuistry not unprecedented on that subject, they have reconciled their conscience to the lawfulness of purchasing slaves, when brought to them by other nations; and they have even made treaties, and held out pecuniary inducements, to embark their neighbours in that iniquitous traffic. The slaves of the Spaniards, however, are taught their prayers with the greatest care; and the utmost solicitude is shown to prevent slaves of different sexes from having an illicit commerce together. The young girls are locked up during the night, and watched during the day, from the age of ten till they are married. But these precautions are fruitless; whether it be that they are ill chosen, or that the unrestrained intercourse of the whites with the female slaves defeats their operation. The Spaniards neglect to clothe and feed their slaves properly, and they have no physician to attend them in their illness. The Span-

iards give their slaves land to cultivate for provisions, and allow them leisure for its cultivation; and in their dress, houses, and accommodations, the slaves of Caracas are not on a worse footing, when compared with the slaves of St Domingo, than their masters are, when compared with the former planters of that island.

The slaves of the Spaniards possess some advantages which the slaves of no other nation enjoy. If they are ill used by their master, they can compel him to sell them to another person; and if a slave can amass a sum equal to his purchase-money, he has a right to buy back his freedom. In 1789, the royal authority was interposed, to meliorate in some other particulars the condition of the slaves; but its plans of reform were so absurd and impracticable, that no effect whatever resulted from its interference. In a colony where many of the masters sleep upon skins, and have but one apartment for their whole family, it was seriously ordered, that every slave should have his separate sleeping-room, furnished with a bedstead, mattress, coverlet, and curtains. Police officers were appointed to determine the quota of labour that should be exacted from every slave. The male and female slaves were to be kept in separate gangs, and not allowed to have any communication even on days of festivity. Such regulations were better calculated to form a society of monks, than to supply the wants, or accelerate the growth, of a rising colony.

The free blacks and people of colour are more numerous in the Spanish settlements, than in the colonies of any other nation. The laws of Spain, contrary to the usual system of colonial policy followed by the Europeans, are extremely favourable to the manumission of slaves; and the piety and devotion of the Spanish character contribute powerfully, as in the dark ages, to increase the number of freedmen. The people of colour in the Spanish colonies are in general poor, and not

more industrious than the Creoles. They are not admissible to any public office in the state, nor into the army of the line; but they may serve in the militia, and even rise to the rank of captain. They are liable to a capitation tax, which, in Caracas at least, is not exacted; and they are forbidden to have Indian servants. They may be physicians; but they cannot be priests. There are various sumptuary laws regulating the dress of their women; but they are fallen into neglect; and the only regulation now in force is one, which prohibits them from having a cushion to kneel upon in church. Trifling as this distinction is, it is sometimes abrogated for money, in favour of a particular family, by a royal order, raising the members of it to the rank and privileges of whites. The marriages of people of colour with white families of distinction have been always extremely rare in the Spanish colonies; but, with the lower ranks of whites, they were not unfrequent, till 1785, when the difference of colour was declared to be a sufficient reason for refusing consent to a marriage, on the ground of disparity of condition in the parties. Since that time such marriages have ceased, except in the case of white women, who, having been exposed, when infants, by their mothers, to conceal their frailty, had been saved by negresses or people of colour, and who found themselves reduced, when they grew up, to marry in the class where they had been educated.

The Indians subject to the Spanish government are as remarkable for the indolence and weakness of their character, as for the mildness of their disposition. The Spanish law considers them as in a state of perpetual pupillage, and assigns to them guardians and protectors. Their civil contracts are not binding, unless made in the presence and with the approbation of the Spanish magistrates; and their lands cannot be sold, unless under the sanction of legal authority. They live in villages, without any mixture

of Spaniards or people of colour, under a *cabildo* or magistracy of their own nation, whose authority is controlled by a Spanish *corregidor*, or protector, to whom an appeal lies against the *cabildo* from its subjects, and who is bound to interfere when he sees an occasion, and protect them against its injustice and oppression. The king's *fiscal* or attorney-general is their protector and legal defender, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, brought against them in the courts of law. They have no labour imposed upon them as a task; and the only direct tax to which they are subjected is the capitation tax, amounting to about two dollars a head. The religious discipline under which they are placed is extremely slight. They are exempt from the jurisdiction of the inquisition; and, in pity to the weakness of their faith, and the dulness of their understanding, they are excused for transgressions and omissions of their religious duty, which would be severely punished in other christians.

There are several tribes of independent Indians in the territory of Caracas; but, except the Guajiros, they are neither numerous nor formidable. The Guajiros are a fierce and warlike tribe, who are in general in a state of hostility with the Spaniards. They possess a tract of about thirty leagues along the coast to the westward of Maracaibo; and can bring into the field 14,000 men, well mounted on horseback, and armed with carabines, and bows and arrows. They are supplied with arms, ammunition, and clothes, by the English of Jamaica, with whom they carry on a commercial intercourse. The remaining tribes of independent Indians are of a mild and peaceable character, and owe their freedom, not to their valour, but to the inaccessible and unwholesome regions which they inhabit.

We are struck with the difference of the policy followed by France and Spain with regard to their colonies. The French planter had his eyes continually directed to the mother coun-

try. It was there he ultimately expected to rest after his labours. It was there only where he could aspire to honours or preferment, or even procure education for his children. The colony was a place of temporary exile, where he submitted to live, in order to amass a fortune; France was the home where he proposed to enjoy it. But Spain, in every one of these particulars, has followed a policy directly the reverse. No settler in a Spanish colony can return to the mother country, without an express license from the government. Schools, academies, and universities, are established in the Spanish colonies for the education of the natives. A richly endowed church and splendid hierarchy are open to their ambition. A numerous, respectable, and opulent body of colonial nobility, are strangers to Spain; and additions are continually making to their number from colonists who never crossed the Atlantic. Experience has shown, that both systems of policy are compatible with the security of the mother country; but, if we consider the internal good of the colonies, we can have little hesitation in giving, of the two, the preference to the French. The Spanish colonies languish under the weight of a cumbrous and oppressive government, calculated not for their own necessities, but to secure, by its extensive patronage, their fidelity and obedience to Spain.

The captain-general of Caracas holds his office for seven years. His appointments are valued at 18,000 dollars a year, one half of which consists in his salary, and the other half in perquisites of office. He is bound to reside for sixty days in the colony after the arrival of his successor, in order to answer any complaints that may be brought against him, and these must be decided within other sixty days at farthest. A similar provision is extended to all the other Spanish colonies. Viceroy's are even obliged to remain for six months in their government after they have resigned it to their successor. But M. Depons trusts that

these provisions against the injustice of the governors are, as might be expected, quite illusory.

The inhabitants of Caracas are no longer forced to have recourse to another colony for the settlement of their lawsuits. An *audiencia* or court of law was established at Caracas in 1787. It consists of a regent, three *oidors* or judges, and two *fiscals* or public prosecutors. The regent has a salary of 5300 dollars a year; and each of the judges and public prosecutors 3300 dollars.

The proceedings in the Spanish courts of law are extremely slow, uncertain, and expensive. Business is transacted by means of written memorials of great length, the whole of which must be read over in public to the judges, before they can give a decision in the case. In a cause decided by the council of war, arising from a vessel which had been cut out of port by the English, the memorials laid before the judges filled 780 sheets of paper, and three days were entirely occupied in hearing them read. The Spanish law is also too favourable to the challenge of judges and assessors by the parties, and too indulgent to appeals. By a contract, singular in itself, though not uncommon in countries where the despotism of the government is tempered by the influence of the church, there is no law more indifferent about the liberties of men than the Spanish, and none more tender of their lives. The slightest suspicion of a crime is sufficient to hurry a man to prison. The clearest evidence of guilt is hardly able to bring him to the gallows.

The *cabildos*, or municipal governments of the new world, were established by the Spaniards at a time when they still enjoyed freedom at home, and they were therefore modelled on the plan of the cities of Castille. They consist of two *alcaldes* or magistrates, chosen annually by the *regidores* or council, who hold their offices for life. The *cabildos* of Caracas possessed at one time great political privileges and influence, which they obtained du-

ring the weak administration of the house of Austria. But the Bourbons, true to their principle of tolerating no power in the state that could serve as a controul upon their own, contrived, in the course of the last century, to reduce them to a state of insignificance in which they still continue.

The military establishment of Venezuela consists of one company of grenadiers and ten companies of the line, making in all 918 men, who are recruited in Spain, and distributed at Caracas, Guayra, and Porto Cabello. The artillery is 900 strong, and consists of one company of Europeans, and eight companies of Creoles, people of colour, and blacks. The militia, amounting to 4740, is formed of Creoles and people of colour. In Cumana there are three companies of Europeans, amounting to 221; 450 artillerymen; and 2245 militiamen. In Maracaibo there are 308 Europeans on the military establishment, 100 artillerymen, and 810 militiamen. In the Isle of Margarita there is a company of 77 European soldiers, with 400 native artillerymen, and 771 militiamen. In Varinas there is a single company of 77 men. The whole military force of the captain-generalship of Caracas, therefore, amounts to 13,136 men, supposing all the companies to be complete; but the distance of one province from another is so great, that, if attacked by an enemy, each must look to its own resources alone for its defence.

The fortified towns upon the coast are Maracaibo, Coro, Porto Cabello, Guayra, and Cumana. Of these, the best fortified and most important are Porto Cabello and Guayra. The inland towns, which are the richest and most valuable, are quite open and defenceless. An enemy who would invade Caracas, should not waste time in the attack of the fortified places on the coast, but land in some convenient situation; and, while the invading fleet kept the garrisons of the forts in check, advance with the invading army against the towns of the interior. As soon as

these were in the possession of the invaders, the militia would disperse, and the towns on the coast would be forced to surrender for want of provisions.

The stability of the Spanish government in America is maintained as much by the policy of her ecclesiastical government as by her civil and military institutions. From the place of archbishop to that of doorkeeper of the cathedral, all ecclesiastical preferment in America flows directly from the king. The priests, secular and regular, may be considered as an army devoted to his service, and ready to expose themselves in defence of his authority. To the influence which the ignorance and bigotry of the people naturally confer upon their clergy, the inquisition superadds its terrors. Three courts of that inexorable tribunal maintain the purity of the catholic faith in Spanish America.

The tithes throughout America belong to the king, and he allows out of them what he pleases for the maintenance of the clergy. In general, the crown is contented with one ninth of the produce of the tithes; one fourth is allowed to the bishop, one fourth to the chapter, and the remainder goes to the parish priest, to the repair of churches, and to other pious uses. There are three bishoprics in Caracas. Before the last war, the annual revenue of the bishop of Caracas amounted in some years to 70,000 dollars. It is now reduced to about 40,000. The parish priests in Caracas are chiefly Creoles. The number of priests in Spanish America, though infinitely greater than the good of the colonies requires, is sensibly on the decline. There has been no convent founded in Caracas for the last sixty years. Missions to convert the Indians were not established in Caracas till the middle of the seventeenth century. They are still in existence; but the missionaries are accused of occupying themselves little with the object of their institution, and of availing themselves of their situation to defraud and oppress the Indians. Some

of them acquire great wealth by commerce, or rather by contraband. There are missionaries who have scraped together, by such means, from 30 to 40,000 dollars.

Agriculture is at a low ebb at Caracas. There are not twenty estates in the province which bring in more than 4 or 5000 dollars a year of clear income to the proprietors. Not that landed property is much subdivided, but it is rare to find more than the tenth part of an estate in cultivation. There are five causes for the low state of agriculture in this province. 1. The proprietors are in general drowned in debt. It is not usual for a Spaniard to sell his estate, till he is reduced to the greatest necessity. He prefers rather to borrow money upon it, for which he pays an interest of five per cent. There is hardly an estate in the colony, which has not some burden of this sort pressing upon it. 2. It is equally uncommon to meet with an estate, which has not some rent charge to pay to the church, in consequence of the dying bequest of some pious ancestor of its owner. Such burdens dissipate the gains, and dishearten the industry of the colonists. 3. The planters live in towns, at a great expence, and often above their income, and leave the management of their estates to overseers. 4. The Spanish Creole has the most extravagant passion for public offices and distinctions; for military rank; for some employment in the courts of law, or in the finances; or for the cross of some order. Every Creole of rank has an *apoderado*, or agent, at Madrid, whose chief business is to solicit such favours for his employer, when they become vacant. Immense sums are sacrificed to this foolish vanity, and the attention of the colonist withdrawn from his true interest, the improvement of his estate. 5. There is a want of negroes for cultivation at Caracas. It was formerly permitted to import negroes into this province from the West India islands; but, since the revolt of the blacks in St. Domingo,

this trade has been prohibited; and from 1791 to 1804, not a single negro was brought into Caracas. In 1804, permission was granted to two merchants of Caracas to import each 1500 negroes into the province.

The productions of Caracas are, 1. *Cacao*, which is esteemed the best in the world, except that of Soconusco. When the cacao of Caracas is sold at Cadiz for 50 dollars per cwt., that of the river Magdalena, near Carthagena, brings only 44, that of Guayaquil only 32, and that of the river Amazons only 25. A single slave can manage 1000 feet of cacao ground, which ought to produce 1250 lib. of cacao, worth 250 dollars in Caracas. The other expences of cultivation are inconsiderable. A cacao tree begins to bear fruit at the age of seven or eight years, or, near the line, at the age of four or five, and continues to bear till fifty on the coast, or till thirty in the interior. There is no branch of cultivation to which such attention is paid in Caracas as to that of cacao. 2. *Indigo*. The cultivation of indigo was not introduced into Caracas till 1774. It has since prospered exceedingly. The indigo of Caracas is inferior to that of Guatemala; but 25 or 30 per cent. better than that of any other country. 3. *Cotton*. Cotton began to be attended to in Caracas, as an object of exportation, in 1782. The cultivation of it is now considerably extended. 4. *Coffee*. Coffee was neglected as an object of commerce in Caracas till 1784. During the late war, many cacao and indigo plantations were given up, and converted into plantations of coffee. But the whole produce of Caracas for exportation in this article does not yet exceed a million of pounds. It is reckoned that the coffee plantations of Caracas give two pounds of coffee for every square foot. 5. *Sugar*. The whole of the sugar raised in Caracas is consumed within the colony. No people are so fond of sweetmeats, or use such quantities of sugar in their food, as the Spaniards. It is calculated, that, in the province

of Venezuela alone, they consume 40,000 cwt. of cacao a year, and a much greater quantity of sugar. 6. *Tobacco*. This being an article of royal monopoly, is cultivated in Caracas, as in every other part of Spanish America, on account of the king. In addition to this account of the territorial riches of Caracas, may be mentioned the immense herds of oxen, horses, mules, sheep, and deer, which are dispersed over its plains and vallies. The number of oxen is not less than 1,200,000; the horses 180,000, and the mules 90,000.

The ports of Caracas which have a right to trade with the mother country, are Guayra, Porto Cabello, Maracaibo, Barcelona, Magarita, and Cumana: but Guayra alone has more trade than all the rest. In 1796, the whole value of the imports from Spain to Caracas was estimated at 3,118,811½ dollars, and the import duties came to 281,052 dollars. The exports to the mother country in the same year are rated in the custom-house books at no more than 2,098,316 dollars, and the export duties at 138,052 dollars, many vessels having sailed without their cargoes, in consequence of the alarm of a war with England.

Caracas carries on little trade with the other Spanish colonies. Its exports to Cuba and Porto Rico are not above 100,000 dollars annually. It is true, that vessels from the mother country, after discharging their cargoes at Vera Cruz, are permitted to touch at Caracas in their way home, and to take a cargo on board there, which they pay for chiefly in specie. This trade is supposed in time of peace to bring about 400,000 dollars annually into Caracas.

Caracas, like the other colonies on the Spanish Main, has permission to export to foreign West India islands all articles of its own produce, except cacao, provided the trade be carried on in national bottoms; but the returns must be in negroes, or in farming and household utensils, and the balance, if any,

must be paid in money. Previous to 1796, the exports of Caracas, by this branch of trade, were confined to about 150,000 dollars in the productions of its soil, 50,000 dollars in hides, and 250,000 dollars in mules, which were sold in the West Indies for 500,000. The whole returns, in negroes and utensils, did not exceed 100,000 dollars; and the balance, which ought to have been paid in money, was received in manufactured goods, which were smuggled into Caracas.

There has been a contraband trade upon the coast, ever since this colony had any commodities to offer strangers in return for their goods; and, in spite of the vigilance of the Spanish government, it must continue to flourish, while the mother country is unable to supply the colonists from her own manufacturing industry, and refuses to admit the manufactures of other nations, without duties of near 50 per cent. Before the year 1791, the French colony of St. Domingo had the greatest share of this trade. It is divided at present between Jamaica, Curacao, and Trinidad. According to M. Depons's calculation, it amounted to 750,000 dollars annually, before the breaking out of the war with England in 1796.

During that war, Spain made a violent departure from her ancient colonial policy, by admitting neutrals to trade directly with her colonies, on condition that they paid the same duties to her government at home, as if the trade had been carried on in the usual manner through Cadiz. An order to this effect was issued in November, 1797; but such was the outcry raised against it, by the shipping interest of Spain, that it was recalled in February, 1800. This revocation served only to throw a number of Spanish vessels, which put rashly to sea, in order to resume their colonial trade, into the hands of the English; and it gave additional spirit to the contraband trade, which had prevailed during the whole course of the

war, between the Spanish Main, and the islands of Jamaica, Curacoa, and Trinidad. This trade was carried on by Spanish vessels, which, being provided with passports from the English admiral on the West India station, sailed from their own harbours on pretence of a voyage to some friendly or neutral port; but being at sea, they made directly for Jamaica, or some other English settlement, where they exchanged their cargoes for English goods. To such a height did this trade proceed, that more than 400 vessels were constantly engaged in it, and 80 vessels with Spanish colours were sometimes to be seen at once in the harbour of Kingston. The little town of Porto Cabello alone exported produce, in 1801, to the value of 1,270,858 dollars, nominally to Guadeloupe, but in reality to Jamaica and Curacoa. The Spanish government, though perfectly aware of the existence of this traffic, connived at it while the war continued; but, on the return of peace, a royal order was issued to inquire after and punish the persons who had been concerned in it.

There is a *consulado*, or chamber of commerce at Caracas, established in 1793. All commercial causes are brought before it; and it is also charged with the superintendence of commerce, agriculture, and public works. But this part of its duty is much neglected. It enjoys a revenue of 80 or 100,000 dollars a year, arising from certain duties appropriated to its support.

The following are tables of the exports of Caracas, for the years from 1793 to 1796, and from 1797 to 1800 inclusive. The difference shows, that either the exports of the colony have been reduced to one half by the war with England, or that the contraband exportation has been greatly increased in the latter period.

Exports from 1793 to 1796.

367,819 cwt. cacao, at 18	<i>Dollars.</i>
dollars per cwt., make	6,620,742
2,955,963 lib. indigo, at 12	
reals per lib.	5,172,937
1,498,332 lib. cotton, at 20	
dollars per cwt.	299,666
1,325,584 lib. coffee, at 12	
dollars per cwt.	159,070
	<hr/>
	12,252,415

Exports from 1797 to 1800.

239,162 cwt. cacao, at 18	<i>Dollars.</i>
dollars per cwt.	4,304,916
793,210 lib. indigo, at 14	
reals per lib.	1,386,117
2,834,254 lib. cotton, at 20	
dollars per cwt.	566,850
1,536,967 lib. coffee, at 12	
dollars per cwt.	184,435
	<hr/>
	6,442,318

The finances of Caracas are under the direction of the intendant, whose authority is independent of the captain-general, and supreme in the colony in all matters of commerce and finance. He holds his place for five years, and it brings him about 18,000 dollars a year.—The revenue of Caracas arises chiefly from the customs, the alcavala or duty of five per cent. on sales, from stamps, licenses, and tithes, and from the produce of the *cruzada*, and of the sale of tobacco. The two last are destined for the treasury at home; the others to defray the expenses of the colonial government; but if there is any deficiency in their produce, it is supplied from the two others. It will be seen, from the following table, that there is usually a deficit even in time of peace; and, since the war with England, the whole receipts of the province have been unable to cover its expenditure. In 1801, the government of Caracas was forced to borrow 200,000 dollars from the exchequer of Santa Fe.

Receipt and expenditure of Caracas from 1793 to 1797, exclusive of the produce of the cruzada, amounting to 26,000 dollars, and the profit of the sales of tobacco, amounting to 700,000 dollars annually.

Years.	Receipt.	Expenditure.	BALANCE.	
			For.	Against.
1793.	1,312,188 1-4	1,503,583 5-6		191,365 1-8
1794.	1,561,951	1,639,900		77,969
1795.	1,443,056	1,549,874		106,817
1796.	1,389,804	1,049,247	340,565	
1797.	1,140,788	1,886,363		745,475

The native Spaniards to be found in Caracas are chiefly Biscayners and Catalans, who, with emigrants from the Canary islands, form the best part of the foreign population of the colony. The Biscayners and natives of the Canary isles often apply to agriculture, with great profit to themselves, and advantage to the settlement. The Catalans devote themselves solely to commerce.— They are all three remarkable for their industry and morals; but the Biscayners are more intelligent and enterprising than the other two.— The people of colour are the mechanics of the colony. They are poor, and lazy, and unskilful tradesmen; but they are free from any gross or dangerous vices, and exceedingly devout. The chief town swarms, as in the mother country, with beggars, in consequence of the mistaken charity which feeds the idle and the profligate, at the expence of the industrious. The archbishop of Caracas, out of his tithes wrung from the industrious cultivator, distributes his charity once a week among 1200 profligates, who trust to such a resource for their livelihood.

Caracas, the seat of government and capital of the colony, has a population of more than 40,000 souls. It enjoys an elevated situation, a temperate climate, and a salubrious air. During the rainy season, Fahrenheit's thermometer varies from 76° to 52°, and during the dry season from 85° to 69°. Guayra, the sea-port of Caracas, is at the distance of five leagues, and is much less healthy than that city. The population of Guayra is about 6000 souls. Among the inland towns of

the province of Venezuela, they reckon more than twelve which contain from 7000 to 1300 inhabitants, besides many thriving and industrious villages. Porto Cabello, like other towns upon the coast, is less healthy than those of the interior. Its population is reckoned at 7600; and that of Coro, which is also upon the coast, amounts to 10,000.

The province of Cumana is extremely fertile; and if the Spanish government have the good-sense to wink at the intercourse of its inhabitants with the island of Trinidad, it is likely to prosper and improve with great rapidity. Cumana and Barcelona, its principal sea-ports, are unhealthy, from the badness and inattention of the police; but this evil might easily be remedied. Cumana has a population of 21,000, and Barcelona a population of 14,000 souls.

Margarita is a possession of little value to the Spaniards; but, in the hands of an active and enterprising enemy, it might do them incalculable mischief, by intercepting the trade between Caracas and the mother country, for which its situation is singularly well adapted.

The situation of Maracaibo is hot, but the climate is salubrious. It contains a population of 22,000 souls, among whom are a number of noble families, sunk in indigence, and prevented, by the prejudices of birth, from engaging in any industrious occupation.

Merida, an inland town of the same province, is distinguished for the industry and intelligence of its inhabitants.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE BRITISH MILITARY CHARACTER.

WHAT are the causes of the bad success of the British arms on the continent? The English are undoubtedly the most intrepid people in Europe. Other causes are therefore to be assigned for this fact.

The first is, that the land army has become an object of secondary consideration ever since the union with Scotland. Another cause is the want of any regular system for the formation of the army, and the manner in which the forces are parcelled out in service, from which circumstance they can never acquire uniformity or consistency.

Campaigns in Asia do not contribute to form troops fitted for European warfare; and a general who has returned from India, may be compared to an admiral who has acquired his knowledge of navigation from voyages in the lake of Geneva or the Black sea.

The English cavalry is better equipped and more formidable in a charge than that of any other nation. A private in the British cavalry is as well mounted as an officer in any other service. He does not however possess the same command of his horse, which is attributed to the form of his saddle; and from this circumstance, the British cavalry require more time than any other to form after a charge. The highest praises are due to the artillery. In short, able commanders are alone wanting to make the British the best troops in Europe. This opinion is certainly very prevalent on the continent of Europe. The British officers are not considered as inferior to those of any army in Europe in courage, in talents, or in attachment to their profession, but in military science and attainments. It certainly would be extremely unjust to impute to them the slightest blame on that account. From well-known causes, they have not the same opportunities of acquir-

ing practical knowledge which the officers of continental armies possess; and though that disadvantage might have been easily supplied by directing some portion of the talents and genius of the nation to the cultivation of military science, Britain is, perhaps, the only country in Europe where it has been completely neglected.

In France, military knowledge was widely diffused; and in the course of the war, it enabled them to overcome every disadvantage arising from want of discipline and experience. Their writers on military subjects are as superior to those of other countries as their generals have shown themselves to be. If the same encouragement had been given in England to military studies, no doubt the English would have excelled as much in this as they have done in every other department of science. There is not one liberal art to which the genius of both nations has been applied, in which Britain has not fair pretensions to superior excellence. Even mechanical inventions, though not apparently suited to the genius of the inhabitants, have been carried to higher perfection in Britain than in any other country. But on military subjects, not one author of any originality, or of any merit, has appeared. The cause of this is obvious. A person intended for the army has no opportunity of learning even the rudiments of his art; if he is desirous to acquire them, he must relinquish the superior advantages of a British education, in order to place himself under the tuition of a German tactician. He there acquires a system which is suited to the genius of a country inferior in almost every respect to his own. Any little military knowledge which exists in England has been servilely copied from the Germans. German discipline certainly has its merits: but there always must be a great distinction between a system which is the growth of the country, and accommodated to the genius and situation of the people, and one which is trans-

ferred, as an article of faith in all its parts, from a foreign country, to one different in almost every respect.

If Frederick, instead of king of Prussia, had been king of Great Britain, his military arrangements would have been different. He would have considered the situation of the country, the character of the people, and the services in which the troops were likely to be engaged. In his own country he made fewer changes in military matters than is generally imagined: matters of little importance he allowed to remain on the same footing. He did not consider it of very great importance to alter the shape of a coat, or the form of a skirt; but wherever he found the tactics of other nations superior, he either imitated or improved them. He thus established his own character for superior genius, and, at the same time, made his army superior to that of any other power in Europe. The same superiority will be attained by any nation which will employ the same means, which will improve its military system, not by a constant and vexatious succession of trifling changes, but by preserving unchanged whatever it has that is good, and giving encouragement to every improvement in the higher departments of military service.

It is easy for a person to fancy himself a soldier, by scrupulously attending, during peace, to those *minutiae* which are really insignificant in war. Officers who make the most distinguished figure in time of peace, do not, in actual service, answer the expectations which they have raised. An officer of this class, who has served twenty or thirty years, has great difficulty in changing his pacific habits: he hates war; and where there is a want of taste for an undertaking, it must be badly executed. Nothing can appear more astonishing to those who have not reflected on it, than the extreme zeal which many British officers show for the subordinate *minutiae* of parade. It is, however, the case with

this, as with most other frivolous pursuits, that where they occupy the mind, they engross it more exclusively than those objects which require a higher exertion of the understanding. A collector of butterflies or tulips shows more zeal in his favourite studies, than a mathematician; and a mountebank quack-doctor annexes higher importance to his infallible prescriptions than a regular physician.

Officers, long accustomed to actual service, are fully aware of the relative importance of the subordinate parts of discipline; but it is not easy to describe the absurd importance which parade officers, who have never heard a gun fired on service, ascribe to the smallest *minutiae* of dress. It appears to them of greater consequence to have their troops smart on parade, than active in their manœuvres; and they seem to think that nothing renders a soldier so fit to meet an enemy, as fixing his cap on one corner of his head, and exposing as much of it as they possibly can, bedaubed with soap and flour, to the wet and cold of a northern climate. No doubt, those officers must be very unfit to meet an enemy, who will not stay to examine whether the accoutrements of their men are well lackered, or their *queues* tied with singular regularity and precision. The height to which this attention to dress is raised, in some individuals, exceeds all bounds of belief. An anecdote is told of a British general officer, who went with some of his friends to see the consular troops reviewed at Paris. After inspecting the lines very narrowly, he was observed to return to his countrymen with a look of great satisfaction and importance. One of them, who was anxious to know the result of his observations, was at length informed, that he could assure him, as a military man, that after looking at the whole line, he had not been able to find two neck-cloths together, tied in the same manner.

For the Literary Magazine.

SIMILES OF HOMER DRAWN
FROM THE SEA.

AMONG the sublime objects of nature, none is more striking than that vast expanse of water which forms the sea; and which, from the variety of appearances that it is capable of assuming, affords a fertile store of images to the poetical observer. The greater part of these are of the grand and terrific kind; and Homer, whose genius and subject led him to the peculiar contemplation of such scenes in nature, has drawn copiously from this source. He seems frequently, like his aged Chryses, to have walked musing on the shore of the resounding main, attentive to all its changes, and fixing their several forms upon his imagination, for the various purposes of description and comparison. It is justly remarked by Pope, in a note on one of these passages, that, in order properly to judge of the beauty of such resemblances, it is necessary for the reader to have been an observer of the things themselves. How far he himself was thus qualified, may occasionally be considered hereafter; but the remark is certainly true; and in proportion as any one is able to compare Homer's descriptions with nature itself, as well as in the similes derived from this source, as in all the others, he will the better understand their application, and recognize their accuracy.

In the similes which I shall first adduce, the principal circumstances which the sea-pieces are brought to illustrate, are *motion* and *number*.

When Agamemnon, in a speech to the assembled Greeks, makes a feigned proposal for their return, its effect on the populace is thus described:

So moved th'assembly, as the length'ning
waves
Roll on the Icarian sea, before the
breath
Of Eurus and of Notus, rushing down
From clouds of father Jove.—IL. ii. 144.

The armies of Greece and Troy seated apart on the plain, in silence, in order to hear Hector's challenge to single fight, give rise to the following comparison:

As when the west wind freshens, o'er
the main
A shivering horror runs, that blackens
round
The face of Ocean; so the ranks appear'd
Of Greeks and Trojans, seated on the
plain. IL. vii. 63.

The armies seated in ranks, and *bristling*, as Homer says, with helmets, spears, and shields, which, from the impatience natural to the occasion, would exhibit a gentle quivering motion, afford a very just resemblance to the sea, just curled and roughened by a light breeze. But that the resemblance farther extends, as Pope supposes, to "the repose and awe which ensued, when Hector began to speak," I cannot perceive. There appears therefore, to me, an unhappy inconsistency with the rest of the picture, in those lines of his translation,

——the face of Ocean sleeps,
And a still horror saddens all the deeps.

The word "horror," if meant to correspond with the original *ᾠή* must be understood in its proper signification of *shivering*, or *trembling*, with which the epithet "still" is manifestly incompatible. The *darkness*, too, which Pope considers as a leading circumstance, is occasioned by the *motion*, not the *repose* of the water.

There are several comparisons by which a fluctuating and irresolute state of mind has been represented, but in none, perhaps, the image is more happily adapted to the subject than in the following, which is introduced where Nestor is alarmed by the view of the extreme danger which urged the Greeks, and knows not what counsel to give:

As when the sea in blind commotion
heaves
Its black'ning waves, a prelude of the
rage

Of whistling winds; as yet to neither
 side
 The billows roll, till from above descends
 The leading gale: so wavering doubts
 divide
 The senior's soul. IL. xiv. 16.

The state of the sea here described, is not properly a *calm*, but a *swell without wind*, usually reckoned the forerunner of a storm. Pope is here again unfortunate, in his first line:

As when old Ocean's silent surface
 sleeps;

for how is this consistent with any motion at all? and yet it is upon *motion* that the application of the simile depends.

A state of the mind somewhat similar to the preceding, but differing in this, that the irresolution proceeds from the strong action of two opposite impulses, is represented by a new image, drawn from the same source:

As when two winds the fishy main assail,
 Boreas and Zephyr, rushing sudden down
 From Thracian hills; in heaps the black waves rise,
 And hurl the sea-wrack from the briny deep:
 So varying doubt distracts the Grecian breasts.

IL. ix. 4.

This doubt was whether they should stay or return; and therefore very well corresponds to the action of the two opposite winds. I am less satisfied, however, with the propriety of description in this, and various other passages of Homer, and his imitators, where different and opposite winds are made to blow at the same time. That in a sea like that with which Homer was conversant, narrow, bounded by mountains, and interspersed with islands, sudden gusts should arise from various quarters, and occasionally meet and contend with each other, is highly probable; but a steady and durable

opposition of winds, on the same spot, is a phenomenon scarcely conformable to nature. The artificial brewing of a tempest, by setting the four winds to jostle with each other, though an expedient practised by some poets of high reputation, is surely ridiculous and extravagant.

The *sound* of the waves, and the *violence* of their assault, are circumstances added to their *mobility* and *frequency*, in the subsequent passages. The peculiar excellence of the Greek language, in expressing *action* by words which are an echo to the sense, should be remarked, before an idea of some of Homer's finest lines is attempted to be given by an inadequate translation.

When the Grecian army is called back to the assembly, after being dismissed by Agamemnon, their return is thus described:

Once more assembling from the ships
 and tents,
 With shouts they rush to council; like
 the roar
 Of echoing Ocean, when its swelling
 waves
 Dash on the extended shore, and boils
 the main.

IL. ii. 207.

The advance of the Greeks to the first battle, gives occasion to the following simile:

As on the sounding shore the ocean waves
 Beat frequent, gently urg'd by Zephyr's
 breath;
 First on the main they rise, then onward
 roll'd
 Burst thund'ring on the beach, and
 swelling high
 Around the rocky points in ridges
 heave,
 And dash the briny foam: thus closely
 throng'd,
 The Grecian squadrons ceaseless mov'd
 to war.

IL. iv. 422.

This is a very exact picture, not of a "growing storm," as Pope understands it, but of a gentle breeze, raising waves in the sea, which

gather as they roll onwards, and at length break with violence on the shore. Its application to bodies of men, at first advancing leisurely and at intervals, then closing and quickening their march, as they approach the enemy, and at last bursting upon the foe, with a furious shock, is perfectly happy, and requires no elucidation to those who have been spectators of the natural scene.

For the Literary Magazine.

ENGLISH METAL PROMISSORY NOTES.

THE use of the more precious and durable metals, as the general medium of exchange, has almost universally taken place in the world; and indeed their introduction has been among the first advances of most nations to a state of civilization. At first, it is probable, that they were used in the form of bars or plates, according as every man could provide himself with them; but as it would soon be found, that they were particularly liable to adulteration, both as to purity and weight, it seems to have been a very natural and necessary step, to give that which was intended to be the medium of public confidence the sanction of the public authority; and by the establishment of *mints* to ascertain, as far as it was possible, the quantity and fineness of each piece of metal in circulation, by the nature of the marks with which it was impressed.

In most modern nations, there were, originally, a great number of these authorized mints. This variety still continues on the continent of Europe, and is one great cause of the perplexities in exchange. In England, however, for a considerable period, there has, with great propriety, been only one public authorized mint, under the immediate inspection of the executive power; which, while it gives the best security for the absolute uniformity of the

medium of exchange, provides, by the liberality of its establishment, against any objection that could be formed to the exclusiveness of its privileges: delivering out, without deduction for seignorage, duty, workmanship, or even waste, the full value of all bullion brought in to be coined.

It may well excite surprise, under such circumstances, that there should ever have been the least temptation to *private* coinage in England. And yet we find, that there have not been less than three different sorts of this unauthorized money, for each of which it will not, perhaps, be difficult to account: the *tradesmen's tokens*, of the last century; the *siege-pieces*, and other *pledges for money*, issued during the civil wars; and the *copper promissory notes for halfpence*, at present current in large manufactories.

Gold and silver money was, for many centuries, the only current coin of England; and copper was not issued by public authority, till some time after the restoration. In consequence of the general extension of trade, and especially of the retail trade, as the bulk of the people increased in wealth and consequence, much inconvenience was found to arise from the want of some pieces of smaller value, to serve as *change* for the silver money. For though silver pence, and even halfpence, were then coined, yet since a man might have a dozen or two of them in his purse, and scarcely be able to discover them with a microscope, it was not to be expected that they should ever come into extensive circulation. In this dilemma, the device of *tokens* was hit on, and eagerly adopted, till every petty tradesman had his pledges for a halfpenny, *payable, in silver, to bearer, on demand*, at his shop; on the credit of which it therefore depended, whether they should circulate through one or two streets, a whole town, or to some small distance in the country round.

The various inconveniences arising from these tokens, particularly

the obvious want of security to the acceptor, from the frequent insufficiency of the issuer, might easily have been obviated by a copper coinage, under the authority of government: but to this Elizabeth could never be persuaded; for no better reason than that copper had been employed in the adulteration of the silver currency. Her successors, James and Charles, issued their respective *farthing tokens*; which, though not declared, by proclamation, an authoritative tender in payment; yet, from the superiority of the security, in great measure, superseded the *private tokens*, till the unhappy end of the latter monarch destroyed the credit of his coins: after which, during the commonwealth, and under Cromwell's usurpation, private mints were again set to work, with greater activity than ever; and continued to supply an abundance of halfpence for circulation, till the year 1672, when they were suppressed by proclamation, and a regular coinage of halfpence and farthings, such as circulate at present, was issued, under the authority of government.

The second class of private coins, those struck in the civil wars, were the offspring of necessity, rather than convenience. In these unhappy times, it became necessary for commanders, when closely besieged, or otherwise deprived of the means of obtaining regular supplies of money, to devise some method of paying their troops, and of purchasing necessities, with something that might serve as a security, the best they could give, for payment in actual money when affairs should take a more favourable turn. A pewter coin of this kind was struck by Charles I, at Newark: it is of a diamond form, and, by its inscription, seems intended to have been a pledge for a shilling. A piece of lead or pewter, with a small square bar of copper struck through it, was struck by James II, for the payment of his army in Ireland. Various coins of this kind may be seen in Rapin's History of England.

The last class of private coins have been occasioned by a great mistake in the regulations which at present govern the preparation of the authorized copper coinage. There seems to be no rule more indispensable, in fixing the proportion of a coin, than this, that it should contain the full value, or, at least, very nearly so, of the metal of which it is composed, according to the present market-price of that metal: for, otherwise, you hold out an almost irresistible temptation to counterfeit. This rule was probably observed at the time of the first copper coinage. The officers of the mint have since been more attentive to keep the halfpenny to its customary size, than to proportion it to the depreciation in the value of the metal. The pound of copper, which is worth no more than tenpence, is now coined into no less than six and forty halfpence: so that a Birmingham manufacturer can get more than cent. per cent. by making even good halfpence; and was enabled to afford such money as he found would sell, five years ago, at the rate of 53l. per cent.

This operating as a strong temptation to too many masters to pay their workmen in copper, and that of the worst kind, its accumulation in the shops of the retail dealers became an object of serious alarm; and obliged them, at length, in many places, though to their great immediate loss, to determine on its entire refusal.

The workmen in the copper-mines, too, who knew its real price, were unwilling to receive in payment one-third of the value of their wages. In this dilemma, the directors of the mines, unable to procure silver, which was, and continues to be, not only much adulterated, but greatly diminished in quantity, had no other resource than to strike off tokens at the full value of the copper, which, being readily accepted by the workmen, have been imitated by the proprietors of other extensive works, and their circulation is daily increasing.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE CASUIST.

CASE.—May I not, in any case, designedly propagate error?

Preliminaries.

All who are concerned in the education of children and youth, whether as parents, or as official preceptors, if they be desirous of discharging their duty faithfully, must be solicitous to determine, whether they are bound, on all subjects of instruction, strictly to adhere to their own opinions, and communicate to their pupils the honest result of their best judgment; or whether they ought, even contrary to their own private sentiments, to follow the general sense of the public, expressed in its instituted or customary formularies.

It is interesting to the whole body of public instructors, who must be desirous to satisfy themselves, whether they be under a moral obligation, in all their addresses to the people, to adhere religiously to that doctrine, which they judge to be true; or whether they are at liberty to adopt popular errors, and foster vulgar prejudices, under the notion of deceiving men for their benefit.

Perhaps there are few young people, whose minds have been imbued with sentiments of integrity, to whom it will not appear strange, and almost immoral, to make it at all a question, whether it be lawful to propagate error? Judging from the genuine principles of rectitude in which they have been instructed, and glowing with that honest love of truth, which is so natural to an uncorrupted mind, they start back from every appearance of deceit, and ask, with instinctive horror, Can virtue hold alliance with falsehood? Can good come out of evil?

Yet the fact is indisputable, that many persons, in other respects eminently distinguished for wisdom and virtue, have not scrupled to bend their ordinary language into the

track of current opinions, and to conform to practices, which they have little hesitation in acknowledging to have originated in error.

Who has not heard of the distinction which almost universally prevailed among the wise men of the ancient world, between their *esoteric* and their *exoteric* doctrine? the former consisting of the pure result of their most subtle speculations, which were industriously kept from the public ear; the latter, of the ordinary precepts of morality, mingled with the dogmas and tales of a fabulous theology, and the institutes of vulgar superstition.

Many of those who have been celebrated, not only for purity of moral doctrine, but for their personal virtues, appear to have thought the propagation of error perfectly right and justifiable, as the only means of imposing necessary restraint upon the minds of the multitude.

It is on this supposition alone that we can account for the general countenance which ancient philosophers, who were, certainly, not insensible of the absurdity of the pagan mythology, gave to superstitious rites and ceremonies, which had no other foundation than these fables. Even the wise and excellent Socrates, who taught so pure and rational a doctrine concerning the Supreme Being, laid it down as a maxim, that a wise man will worship the gods according to the institutions of the state to which he belongs; and he adhered to this maxim to the latest hour of his life, when he requested his friend, Crito, not to neglect the offering of a cock, which he had vowed, to Esculapius.

Pythagoras, concerning whom, if any thing be certain, it is, that he was, both in his doctrine and practice, a friend to good morals, did not scruple, in order to give his doctrine the more powerful sway over the multitude, to encourage superstitious credulity, by pretending to supernatural powers. His precepts were delivered to the people as from the oracle of Apollo; and,

on several occasions, he professed to perform miracles

The enlightened Cicero, who so completely saw through the impositions which were practised on the Roman people, as to say, that he wondered how the *haruspices*, when they looked each other in the face, could refrain from laughing, nevertheless, did not scruple to lend his assistance towards carrying on the deception.

Even the sacred school of christianity has furnished abundant examples of error, designedly countenanced and propagated by great and good men. False miracles have, through a long course of ages, been exhibited on the ecclesiastical theatre, by catholic christian priests. The laity are still, in various christian churches, both Romish and protestant, taught to embrace tenets, and to practise ceremonies, which candour, with its utmost effort, cannot suppose to be universally believed and revered by the clergy. Discourses are written, and lectures are read, to apologize for subscriptions to articles of faith, which are not throughout, and in their obvious sense, believed. Church benefices are retained by men of amiable manners, and, in other respects, of strict probity, who, nevertheless, do not scruple to disavow their belief in many parts of the formularies to which they have solemnly declared their assent, and thus, inconsistently enough, support with one hand that system of error, real or supposed, which they pull down with the other. Hoadley preached a sermon against church authority, which put the whole English nation in a ferment, and yet continued in his see. Clarke wrote against the doctrine of the trinity, and yet continued to read the litany. Blackburne wrote *The Confessional*, and yet kept the pre-ferment which he held by subscription to the thirty-nine articles.

If great and good men have thus contributed to the support and propagation of error, it must have been their serious opinion, that there are

cases in which error ought to be supported and propagated.

Pro quaesito.

After all the fine-spun theories of morals which have been advanced by ingenious men, it is now pretty generally agreed, that there is no other satisfactory criterion of moral action than its tendency to produce happiness. No action, therefore, which has this tendency ought to be pronounced immoral. If, by any means, I create in the mind of another a judgment, or opinion, which I know, or believe, to be false, I am, it is true, imposing upon him error in the shape of truth; but if I am, at the same time, impressing his mind with a conviction which will probably have a beneficial influence upon his conduct, I am doing him good, or performing towards him a benevolent and virtuous action. The beneficial effect is the same, whether my words, which produced it, correspond to the abstract truth of things or not.

Abstract truth, or falsehood, must, it is granted, always exist with respect to every possible proposition; for every supposable thing either is, or is not: but universal experience has shown, that the knowledge of truth is an attainment of extreme difficulty. The depth at which truth lies is proverbial. Who is certain, after all his labour, that he has brought it up from the well? What appears truth to me, appears error to another. Why, then, follow so uncertain a guide as my own judgment of what is true, when I can so much more easily determine from observation, what is useful? If I am satisfied that my instructions are, on the whole, useful, why disturb myself because they have in them, unavoidably, a mixture of apparent error?

We necessarily imbibe error with our infant breath. Errors innumerable are forced upon our judgment by the report of others, by our own senses, by the customs and habits of society, and even by its wisest insti-

tutions. Why should we attempt to avoid that which is evidently a part of the great plan of nature? Why not co-operate with its general laws, by rendering men's unavoidable errors productive of good?

Whether it be possible for human nature to become altogether the pupil of truth; whether it be possible to put all men in possession of a sufficient stock of certain knowledge, to become the basis of individual and social happiness, may admit of doubt; but, in the present state of the world, it can scarcely be questioned, that it is impracticable to conduct its affairs without giving encouragement and support to error. Whenever the magistrate has made himself the judge of abstract truth, and professed to take it under his patronage, by giving a formal establishment to one set of opinions in preference to another, he has adopted a system productive of incalculable mischiefs. This is equally true, whether the system has been adopted in a Romish conclave, a British council, or a French convention; and the man who projects or supports this system, whether he be a Bonner or a Robespierre, whether he be a Burke or a Condorcet, is, unquestionably, a persecutor. The magistrate whose sole object is the public good, in order to preserve the public tranquillity, and secure to every individual the first right of a rational being, that of exercising his reason without restraint, ought to afford equal patronage, or at least equal protection, to all public instructors, although it may be very evident that, in doing this, he must, in many cases, give countenance and encouragement to the propagation of error; his business is to consider not what is true, but what is useful, and even error may, in certain circumstances, be useful.

This usefulness of error has, in many instances, been experimentally proved. In all ages, the multitude have been kept in awe by fictions addressed to the imagination and passions. What effect would the

ancient metaphysical philosophers of India have produced on the minds of the people by their abstract speculations, concerning the divine nature and attributes, if they had not personified the operations of Deity under the names of Brahma, Vishnou, and Sheva, and exhibited them to the fancy in fables and images? Among the Greeks and Romans, what would Plato's *beauty and good*, or Tully's *honestum*, have done to keep the world in order, without the fables and ceremonies of the pagan religion; without priests and augurs; without the Elysian Fields and the shades of Tartarus?

In fine, let the most correct philosopher ask himself, Whether, in his ordinary intercourse with mankind, he does not find himself under the necessity of accommodating himself to their habits of thinking, and, by the terms which he uses, to encourage opinions which he thinks erroneous? Is there a disciple of Berkeley, of Hartley, or of Hume, who, while he plumes himself upon thinking with the wise, does not condescend to speak with the vulgar, and hereby to support and countenance error?

E contra.

Without entering into the general question concerning the foundation of morals, and even admitting utility to be the measure of virtue, it may be confidently asked, whether an invariable adherence to moral truth, or veracity, be not, at least, as likely to be useful to mankind, as the violation of this law of morality, in the wilful propagation of error? Whether the love of truth be woven into the original fabric of the human mind, or whether it be the result of a series of unavoidable associations, it cannot be doubted that it is natural to man. No good man ever violates it without reluctance. Few merchants take a custom-house oath, which they know to be not strictly true, without wishing that they might be excused. An English clergyman, who subscribes the thirty-nine articles with a secret consciousness

that they do not perfectly coincide with his sentiments, must feel an uneasy pressure as he enters the narrow door, and, notwithstanding the usefulness of the edifice to which he is admitted, must wish the passage into it enlarged. These are right and laudable feelings; and it is by no means certain, that mankind have ever been benefited by countervailing them.

If the certain knowledge of abstract truth be a difficult attainment, it is not less difficult to determine, with certainty, what will be, on the whole, useful. The general good is a vast object, and comprehends an endless variety of complicated relations and circumstances, in which the mind is in as much danger of being lost, as in the labyrinth of a speculative truth. Because the whole field of knowledge does not lie open to the human understanding, it is not to be inferred that man is incapable of possessing himself of sufficient knowledge to secure his happiness, without calling in the aid of error: nor ought the mistakes and errors into which men fall before they acquire the perfect use of their reason, or while they neglect to exercise it, be an argument for the deliberate and systematic propagation of error among beings to whom reason is given for the very purpose of correcting error.

The exclusive patronage of any particular system of opinions, under the notion of supporting the cause of truth, is an exercise of civil power which always has been, and always must be, injurious to society; but any interference of magistracy for the purpose of encouraging and supporting a system which the magistrates themselves believe to be founded in error, in expectation that it will furnish useful instruments of controul, is, at least, equally injurious.

If the magistrate affords equal protection and encouragement to instructors of all classes, he permits, it is true, the dissemination of false principles, but he does not,

in reality, patronize and propagate error; for nothing so certainly promotes the discovery and propagation of truth, as the unlimited freedom of discussion. Whatever is for the public good, it is the business of the magistrate to encourage; but experience has proved, that the public good is not promoted either by the patronage of any specific system of supposed truth, or the propagation of error: it must, therefore, be his duty to leave truth and error a clear field of contest, with no other interference than may be necessary to bring together skilful combatants, and to secure them fair play.

The interference, either of the magistrate or the priesthood, in favour of error, has never been productive of good. The ingenious devices of the Indian brahmins, to amuse the people with splendid fictions, what effects have they produced for which the people have reason to thank them? They have established the most debasing system of servility; they have confounded moral obligation with childish superstition; they have created an unnatural separation between man and man, by dividing society into distinct casts, productive, on the one part, of insolent tyranny, on the other, of abject and wretched slavery. Similar consequences, though, perhaps, in an inferior degree, have followed from similar systems of imposition in other countries; and if, in any instance, good effects have been produced, by institutions founded in error, it has been owing, not to the error, but to the truth incorporated with it: for, perhaps, no system has ever been established so erroneous as not to contain some true and useful principles of religion and morality.

In every age and country, the multitude have possessed a sufficient share of understanding to be capable of receiving, from their more enlightened brethren, a plain and simple state of facts, with their obvious conclusions, as the ground of general maxims for the conduct of life: and, in order to render men

virtuous, nothing more seems necessary than to convince them, from the known nature of things, and from certain experience, that it is their interest to be so. Had this experiment been fairly tried, through the long course of ages, it is impossible to say to what degree of wisdom and happiness men might, by this time, have attained.

It is not only contrary to experience, but to the nature of things, that error should be productive of good. In the strict language of philosophy, truth and good are one. To treat every being and object according to its true nature, qualities, and relations, must be to render it, as much as possible, useful. Every error in judgment, concerning the nature of things, must open the way to some error in conduct, and, consequently, be injurious.

To suppose that error should produce good, appears almost as palpable an absurdity, as to make darkness the parent of light. It may, therefore, be concluded, that no attempt to impose on mankind, by propagating error, either "is," or, "can come to good;" and that where appearances of this kind arise, they are the mistakes of misapprehension, or the self-created illusions of a timid or selfish mind.

Prudent men will tread the ground of new opinions with cautious steps; modest men will judge with deliberation, and assert with diffidence; and polite men will not unnecessarily deviate from the established forms of language: but good men will always prefer truth to error; and wise men will not be easily persuaded, that truth may not be safely trusted with the great charge of making the world happy. If the glorious day should ever arrive, in which the clouds of error shall be cleared away, it will, we doubt not, be seen, that truth is a luminary sufficiently bright to show mankind the path to happiness.

Curia.

Curia vult advisari.

For the Literary Magazine.

PRESENT INSTITUTIONS OF THE JEWS.

THE following is an abstract of the answers made by the great congregation of the Jews at Paris, to the questions put to them by the French government. Though these responses extend to a small number of objects, they are extremely curious and valuable, considered as an account of the Jews given by the highest authority, after the deepest deliberation among themselves.

It is not lawful for the Jews to take more than one wife. They generally comply with the laws of the European states in which they reside, and those forbidding polygamy, the Jews comply with those laws.

Moses did not expressly command to marry more than one, neither did he forbid it. Taking it for granted that such a thing would happen, he regulates the portions of children of different wives. Though polygamy was tolerated in the east, the ancients prescribe to the Jews not to marry more than one woman, unless their substance afforded the means of providing for more, and their issue. It was different in the west, where, desirous of conforming to the usages of the nations among which they settled, the Jews generally renounced polygamy. Some few individuals, however, still following that practice, a synod was convened at Worms, in the eleventh century, in which the rabbi Guershon presided, composed of one hundred rabbies. This assembly pronounced an anathema against every Israelite who should thereafter marry more than one woman: this prohibition, seconded by the influence of European manners and laws, has been obeyed ever since.

Divorce is allowed by the law of Moses, but it is not valid unless previously decided by the tribunals, according to the laws of France. Submission to the laws of the prince is the first duty of all Jews, and it

is a fundamental maxim adopted among them, that, in whatever relates to civil and political concerns, the laws of the state shall be paramount. Before they enjoyed in France the same rights as other citizens, and when by special acts of the state, which permitted them to govern themselves in conformity with their religious customs, they had the liberty of divorcing their wives, it was very rarely used. Since the revolution, they have entirely conformed to the French laws; and, when admitted to the rights of citizenship, the rabbies and principal Jews of France appeared before the local municipalities, and took the oath, strictly to conform in all things to the laws of France, and to have no other rule in the adjustment of their civil concerns. Thus they can no longer consider divorce pronounced by their rabbies as valid, since to be so it must be previously pronounced by the civil tribunals of the state.

Inasmuch as the rabbies, by a decree of the consuls, were forbidden to administer the marriage ceremony, unless the parties could show that they were previously married by a municipal officer, so, in like manner, they cannot pronounce divorce, unless previously pronounced by the civil authority. If even this decree did not decide the point, the sentence of the rabbies would not be valid, as the law, in regard to civil concerns, would be superior, to which either of the parties would have the right of appealing: from all which it results, that the sentence of the rabbi, without the sanction of the civil law, cannot be valid. And it is farther evident, that, since the Jews marry before the civil magistrate, no Jew, who respects his religion, can repudiate his wife, unless by double divorce; and on which account it is asserted, that the law of Moses is perfectly conformable to the civil law.

The law does not say that a Jewess shall not marry a christian, nor a christian woman a Jew; neither does it declare that the Jews can

only marry among themselves.—

The law forbids only marriages with the seven Canaanee nations, with Ammon, Moab, and the Egyptians. The prohibition with the seven nations is absolute; that respecting Ammon and Moab is, according to the laws of the talmud, confined to the men, and not to the women, but it is believed that the latter ought to have embraced the Jewish religion. The law concerning the Egyptians is confined to the third generation. The prohibition is strictly applicable to the nations who worship idols. The talmud declares formally, that the modern nations are not idolators, seeing that they, as we do, worship the Lord God of heaven and earth; hence many marriages have taken place between Jews and christians, in France, Spain, and Germany.—These marriages were permitted or prohibited by the princes in whose kingdoms or states the Jews resided; some such marriages are to be found in France at present; yet we cannot conceal that these marriages are against the opinion of the rabbies; according to their tenets, it is held that, in the acceptance of the talmud, a marriage requires religious ceremonies called *kiduskin*, and the nuptial blessings; and as no marriage is valid in point of religion, if the said ceremonies are not performed, it is evident that no such marriage can take place between two individuals who should not both consider the said ceremony sacred: in which case they might separate again, without being under the necessity of applying to their church for divorce. They would be considered as civilly, but not religiously, married. Such is the opinion of the rabbies, members of the assembly, and they would in general be not more inclined to celebrate the nuptials of a christian woman with a Jew, or of a Jewess, than the Roman catholic priests would be disposed to consecrate such a marriage.

The rabbies, however, confess that a Jew who marries a christian woman, does not therefore cease to be a Jew in the opinion of his co-reli-

gionists, the same as he who marries a Jewess civilly, and not according to the precepts of the religion.

The Jews consider Frenchmen as brothers, and not as foreigners, and this mode of considering them is in conformity with the principles of the law of Moses.

At the time when the Israelites existed as a nation, their legislator prescribed to them, to love the stranger as their brother: "remember," said he to them, "that you have been strangers in Egypt."—Respect and kindness towards strangers are not only recommended by Moses, as a mere practical duty of social morality, but commanded by God himself. "When getting in your harvest," said he to them, "do not go back to gather the gleanings; leave them for poor strangers, and the widow; do not ill-treat the stranger, do him no injury, love him and give him bread, supply him with clothes: if he want, I am the everlasting, your God, the everlasting lover of strangers."

To those sentiments of benevolence, Moses adds the love of mankind in general. "Love thy equal as thyself." David also expresses himself, "the Lord our God is all goodness, his mercy extends over all his works."

A talmudist says, "we are obliged to love as brothers, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, and to assist the poor or the stranger, the same as if they were Israelites, whatever may be their opinions. There is in truth no act which a true Israelite ought not to perform towards a stranger." His principles are, to forsake idolatry, not to blaspheme, not to commit adultery, not to kill or wound a fellow creature, not to rob, nor deceive, and to maintain justice. All our principles therefore make it a duty for us to love the French as brothers.

A pagan once required of the rabbi Hille, information respecting the Jewish religion, and to be briefly informed of its principles. He received the following reply: "Do not to thy fellow-creature that which thou

would not should be done unto thee."

This is the true religion, the rest is but consequence. A religion which prescribes to love the stranger, which recommends the practice of all the social virtues, enjoins us to love a fellow-citizen as a brother.—How can we consider them otherwise? We inhabit the same soil, we are ruled and protected by the same government, enjoy the same privileges, and fulfil the same duties.

The relations which the law prescribes to those who are not of the Jewish creed, are the same as from one Jew to another. We acknowledge no other difference but that of worshipping God, each in his own way; and we believe this differing does not displease the God of heaven and earth.

Men who have adopted a country in which they have resided during several generations, who, under the restraints of particular laws which abridged their civil rights, had affection enough for that country to prefer the misfortune of not partaking the rights and privileges of the other citizens to that of leaving her, cannot now consider themselves in France but as Frenchmen. The obligation of defending her appears to them a duty both honourable and natural. Jeremiah, chapter 29, "tells the Jews to consider Babylon as their native country, although they were to remain there but seventy years. He recommends to them to clear the land, to build houses, to sow, and plant." They followed his advice in such a manner, that Esdras, chapter 1, says "that when Cyrus gave them leave to return to Jerusalem, in order to rebuild the second temple, no more than 40,360 left Babylon, and that these were chiefly *proletaire*, all the rich having remained in that city." The love of the Jews for their country, is a feeling so natural and so ardent, and so much unconnected with their religious faith, that a French Jew, when in England, though in the midst of other Jews, considers himself as a stranger; and the same takes place when an English Jew

comes to France. This feeling prevails so much against the spirit of religion, that French Jews have been seen in the late wars fighting to the utmost against German Jews, who were opposed to them.

Since the revolution, in all places where the Jews are sufficient in number to support a rabbi, he is chosen by the heads of families, who examine into his morality and capacity.

The rabbies have no jurisdiction of police over the Jews. The term rabbi is found no where in the law of Moses, nor did it exist in the time of the first temple; the first mention of rabbi is to be found towards the end of the second temple. The Jews were governed in those days by *sanhedrins*, or tribunals. There was one superior tribunal called the grand *sanhedrin*, which held its sitting in Jerusalem, and was composed of seventy-one judges. There were inferior tribunals, for police and civil affairs, these were composed of three judges; and there was another tribunal composed of twenty-three judges, which determined matters of more importance, and were called the inferior *sanhedrins*. The term of rabbi is noticed for the first time in the *Misna* and *Talmud*, and is there used to denote a doctor of laws; hence a man who was learned was commonly called rabbi. After being dispersed, the Israelites formed small communities in those places where they were permitted to settle, and there a rabbi, assisted by two doctors, called *pesdins*, formed a tribunal, and decided matters relative to the Jews. The rabbi was president, and the doctors were judges or assistants. These tribunals, however, were at all times held under the permission and pleasure of the government under which they lived, that is, they had no independent judiciary.

None of those tribunals of rabbies are to be found at this time in France or Italy since the revolution. The Jews after that epocha became citizens, and conformed themselves in all things to the laws of the state.—

The functions of the rabbies in the places where they are established, are confined to the duties of preaching, celebrating marriages, and pronouncing divorces. In places where there is no rabbi, any Jew learned in his religion may, agreeable to the law, consecrate a marriage, without the assistance of a rabbi, which is an inconsistency, the evil consequences of which ought to be remedied, by extending the prohibition of the rabbies, made by the arrette of the consuls, to every other person who may be applied to, to consecrate a marriage. As for what concerns the judiciary police among themselves, they can have none, since there is no constituted ecclesiastical hierarchy, nor any subordination of religious functions.

Supposing the rabbies to possess any judicary jurisdiction at this time (the contrary of which is the fact), or that there are any particular form of election, they must be the effect of custom, and not by the authority of law.

There are no professions which the laws of the Jews forbid; on the contrary, the Talmud (*Kidusechem*, chapter 1) declares positively, that the father of a family, who does not bring up his child to a trade, brings him up to be a highwayman.

The law of the Jews forbids them to take usury of their brethren.—Deuteronomy, chapter 23, verse 19, "You shall not lend on interest to your brother, neither money, nor grains, nor any thing whatsoever."

The Hebrew word *nechel*, which has been translated by the word *usury*, has been wrongly explained. It signifies in the Hebrew tongue, "*any interest*," and not a usurious interest: it has not, therefore, the signification which is now applied to the word usury. It is even impossible that it could have that signification, for that expression is relative, and there is nothing in the text which expresses its relation.

What do we understand by the French word usury? is it not an interest higher than the rate fixed by law?

If the law of Moses has not fixed that rate, is it possible that the Hebrew word should signify an illegal interest?

The word *nechei* is in the Hebrew tongue what the word *foenus* is in the Latin.

In order therefore to induce one to believe that this word signifies usury, there ought to be another word which would signify interest; and since that word does not exist, all interest is usury, and all usury is interest. What view may the legislator have had, when he forbade the Hebrews to take interest from one another? It was certainly to bring the ties of brotherhood closer among them, and to induce them to assist each other from motives of benevolence.

The first object was to establish among them equality of property, and mediocrity of private wealth, in consequence of which, the sabbatic and jubilee years were established; the former to take place every seven, and the latter every fifty years. The sabbatic year abolished all debts, and the jubilee restored all the property which had been sold or alienated. It was easy to foresee that difference of soil, more or less industry, and the common calamities of life, which would occur, would naturally produce inequality of property, and that the unfortunate Israelite would require the assistance of the more fortunate. Moses did not wish that the latter should profit by the misfortune of the former, and that he should increase his misfortunes, by making him pay for the aid which the unfortunate should be compelled to ask, and become more opulent, as the other became poorer, and therefore he says, "you shall not lend on interest to your brother." But what loans could the Jews make to each other in times like those? they had no commerce, and but little money was in circulation, and then property was more equally divided. It could be nothing else but a few bushels of grain, some cattle, or a few utensils of husbandry, which Moses commanded to be loaned gra-

tis. He wished his people to be a people of husbandmen. Long after the time of Moses, and although Judea was situated near the sea, inhabited by the Tyrians, Syrians, and other commercial and maritime people, the Hebrews did not engage in commerce. All the ordinances of their legislator seem to divert them from commerce.

This prohibition of Moses is therefore not to be considered as a principle of commerce, but merely as a principle of charity; according to the talmud, the loan is only considered as neighbourly, and as granted to one in want; if it was granted to a merchant, and if he was a Jew, it would be lawful to grant it under the condition of advantage, equivalent to the risk. The word usury had formerly no opprobrious signification, it merely signified any interest. A simple loan on interest was not only prohibited between Jews, but between Jews and persons of other religions. It must be free and gratuitous, whenever it has for its object to serve him who required it, and was not made for the purposes of commerce.

It ought, however, to be remembered, that these wise and wholesome regulations were made at a remote period from the present, and when the Jews existed as a distinct nation.

But when this unhappy people were dispersed among the nations of the earth, the duties and obligations imposed on them by their legislator, while in Palestine, naturally ceased with the changes of their condition; and although they delight in the principles of the law, yet, as the reasons for the law have ceased, they do not now hesitate to lend money on interest to trading Jews, as well as other persons of different religions.

Usury, considered as the smallest interest, is less a principle of commerce, than of charity and benevolence, and in this view it is equally prohibited by Moses and by the talmud, and this prohibition extends as well to our countrymen, who do not profess the Jewish religion, as to those

who do. The spirit of the law, which permits us to take interest of a stranger, evidently applies to the nations with whom we are engaged in commerce, otherwise a palpable contradiction would be perceived in the following, and twenty other passages of the holy writings: "Love the stranger, because the Lord our God loves the stranger; give him food and raiment. There shall be but one law for you, and for the stranger who resides among you. Let justice be equally administered to the stranger as among yourselves. Cursed be they that do the least wrong to the stranger; treat the stranger as yourself."

The restriction then was applicable to the stranger, who resided in Israel: the scripture puts him under the safety of God. The stranger is a sacred guest, whom God has commanded us to treat as the widow and the orphan. It is evident then that the text which says, "*extraneo fenerabis et fratri tuo non fenerabis*," is applied only to foreign nations, with whom we are engaged in commerce; and in this sense the scripture, while allowing interest to be taken from the stranger, does not mean excessive interest, oppressive to him who pays, and scandalous to him who receives it. "*Non licuisse Israelites*," say the doctors, "*usuras immoderatas exigere ab extraneis, etiam divitibus, res est per se nota*."

Moses being the legislator of the Jews, was not so for the world. The laws which he gave to the people confided to him by God, could not be supposed to be law for all the world. "You shall not take any interest from your brethren." What security had he that in the relations which were to be formed between the Jews and foreign nations, that the latter would renounce the customs of commerce, and lend the Jews without interest? It could not be supposed that he would sacrifice the interests of his own people, who were poor, for the purpose of enriching foreign nations. It is absurd to blame him for the restriction made

in his precept of the Deuteronomy. What legislator would not have considered it as a principle of natural reciprocity? How greatly superior in this instance is the legislation of Moses! how much more simple, more noble, more just, and more humane than that of the Greeks and Romans! Were there ever seen among the ancient Jews any of those scandalous and cruel scenes occasioned by inexorable creditors? Were there among the Greeks and Romans any of those frequent abolition of debts, for the purpose of saving numbers of miserable people, reduced to wretchedness, and driven to despair, by the exactions of the prætors, as were seen among the Jews?

The legislation of Moses and its interpreters have, with a laudable philanthropy, distinguished the different uses of borrowed money. If it is borrowed for the support of the family, the interest is prohibited.—It is permitted when the loan is made for commercial purposes, which endanger the capital of the lender. This interest is permitted even from Jew to Jew. *Lend to the poor*, says Moses. Gratitude is in this case the only interest, and the reward for the service rendered is the satisfaction of having rendered it.—It is quite different with regard to the rich, who employ large capital in extensive trade; in this case he allows the lender to become an associate with the borrower; and since there was scarcely any trade among the Israelites, who were exclusively engaged in agriculture, and since what trade there was was carried on with foreigners, that is to say, with neighbouring nations, it was to partake with them in the profits arising therefrom.

This caused M. de Clermont Tonnerre to deliver these remarkable words in the constituent assembly: "Usury, it is said, is permitted to the Jews. This assertion rests only on the false interpretation of a principle of benevolence and fraternity, which forbids them to lend on interest to each other. This opinion is

that of Puffendorf, and of many jurists. It is incontrovertible that interest is permitted among Jews when it is for mercantile purposes, in which the lender, by running a share of the hazards which the borrower runs, associates himself also with him for his profits. This is the opinion of all the Jewish doctors."

The opinion contrary to social morality which a rabbi may have given, can by no means induce one to judge unfavourably of the Jewish doctrine in general, any more than similar ideas pronounced by catholic theologians would influence the evangelical doctrines.

The same may be said of the imputation spread against the Hebrews, that they have a propensity for the infamous trade of usury. It cannot be denied that there are some, yet a very insignificant number, who follow that shameful commerce prohibited by the law; but if very few deviate in that regard from the law, is it not unjust to charge 100,000 individuals with the same vice? Would it not be unjust to charge all the christians with the same, because some are guilty thereof?

For the Literary Magazine.

ON THE MERITS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

AMONG the many evils which the French revolution has inflicted on mankind, the most deplorable, perhaps, both in extent and duration, consists in the injury which it has done to the cause of rational freedom, and the discredit in which it has involved the principles of political philosophy. The warnings derived from the misfortunes of that country, and the lessons which may still be read in the tragical consequences of her temerity, are memorable, no doubt, and important: but they are such as are presented to us by the history of every period of

the world; and the emotions by which they have been impressed are in this case too violent to let their import and application be properly distinguished. From the miscarriage of a scheme of frantic innovation, we conceive an unreasonable and indiscriminating dread of all change or reform. The failure of an attempt to make government perfect, reconciles us to imperfections that might easily be removed; and the miserable consequences of treating every thing as prejudice and injustice, which could not be reconciled to a system of fantastic equality, has given strength to prejudices, and sanction to abuses, which were gradually wearing away before the progress of reason and philosophy. The French revolution has thrown us back half a century in the course of political improvement, and driven us to cling once more, with superstitious terror, at the feet of those idols from which we had been nearly reclaimed by the lessons of a milder philosophy. When we look round on the wreck and ruin which the whirlwind has scattered over our prospect, we tremble at the rising gale, and shrink even from the wholesome air that stirs the fig leaf on our porch. Terrified and disgusted with the brawls and midnight murders which proceed from inebriety, we are almost inclined to deny ourselves the pleasures of a generous hospitality; and scarcely venture to diffuse the comforts of light or of warmth in our dwellings, when we turn our eyes on the devastation which the flames have committed around us.

The same circumstances which lead us to confound what is salutary with what is pernicious in political forms have also perverted our judgment on the characters of those connected with these memorable occurrences. The tide of popular favour, which ran at one time with a dangerous and headlong violence to the side of innovation and political experiment, has now set, perhaps too strongly, in an opposite direction; and the same misguiding pas-

sions that placed factious and selfish men on a level with patriots and heroes, has now ranked the blameless and the enlightened in the herd of murderers and madmen.

There are two classes of men in particular, to whom the revolution has thus done injustice, and who have been made to share in some measure the infamy of its most detestable agents, in consequence of venial errors, and in spite of extraordinary merits. There are none indeed who made a figure in its more advanced stages, that may not be left, without any breach of charity, to the vengeance of public opinion; and both the meritorious or at least innocent classes of persons only existed, accordingly, at the period of its commencement. These were the philosophers or speculatists who inculcated a love of liberty and a desire of reform by their writings and conversation; and the virtuous and moderate, who attempted to act on these principles at the opening of the revolution, and countenanced or suggested those measures by which the ancient frame of government was finally dissolved. To confound either of these classes with the monsters by whom they were succeeded, it would be necessary to forget that they were in reality their most strenuous opponents, and their earliest victims. If they were instrumental in conjuring up the tempest, we may at least presume that their co-operation was granted in ignorance, since they were the first to fall before it; and can scarcely be supposed to have either foreseen or intended those consequences, in which their own ruin was so inevitably involved. That they are chargeable with imprudence and presumption may be admitted, though, with regard to many of them, it would be no easy task, perhaps, to point out by what conduct they could have avoided such an imputation; and this charge, it is manifest, ought at any rate to be kept carefully separate from that of guilt. Benevolent intentions, though alloyed by vanity, and misguided by ignorance, can ne-

ver become the objects of the highest moral condemnation; and enthusiasm itself, though it does the work of devils, ought still to be distinguished from treachery or malice. The knightly adventurer, who broke the chains of the galley-slaves, purely that they might enjoy their deliverance from bondage, will always be regarded with other feelings than the robber who freed them to recruit the ranks of his banditti.

If we examine impartially the extent of the participation, fairly imputable to the *philosophers*, in the crimes and miseries of the revolution, and endeavour to ascertain how far they were responsible for its consequences, or deserve censure for their exertions, we shall be obliged to acquit the greater part of any mischievous intention, and to conclude, that there was nothing in the conduct of the majority which should expose them to blame, or deprive them of the credit which they would have certainly enjoyed, but for consequences which they could not foresee. For those who, with intentions equally blameless, attempted to carry into execution the projects which had been suggested by the others, and actually engaged in measures which could not fail to terminate in important changes, it will not be easy to make so satisfactory an apology. What is written may be corrected; but what is done cannot be recalled: a rash and injudicious publication naturally calls forth a host of answers; and where the subject of discussion is such as excites a very powerful interest, the cause of truth is not always least effectually served by her opponents. But the errors of cabinets and legislatures have other consequences, and other confutations. They are answered by insurrections, and confuted by conspiracies; a paradox which might have been maintained by an author, without any other loss than that of a little leisure, and ink, and paper, can only be supported by a minister at the expence of the lives and the liberties of a nation. It is evident, therefore, that

the precipitation of a legislator can never admit of the same excuse with that of a speculative inquirer; that the same confidence in his opinions, which justifies the former in maintaining them to the world, will never justify the other in suspending the happiness of his country on the issue of their truth; and that he, in particular, subjects himself to a tremendous responsibility, who voluntarily takes on himself the new-modelling of an ancient constitution.

Much praise is due to the virtuous and enlightened men who abounded in the constituent assembly of France. The motives of many of them were pure, and their patriotism unaffected; their talents are still more indisputable: but they cannot be acquitted of blamable presumption and inexcusable imprudence. There are *three* points, in which they were bound to have foreseen the consequences of their proceedings.

In the *first* place, the spirit of exasperation and defiance, with which, from the beginning, they carried on their opposition to the schemes of the court, the clergy, and the nobility, was as impolitic with a view to their ultimate success, as it was suspicious as to their immediate motives. The parade which they made of their popularity; the support which they submitted to receive from the menaces and acclamations of the mob; the joy which they testified at the desertion of the royal armies; and the anomalous military force, of which they patronised the formation in the city of Paris, were so many preparations for actual hostility, and led almost inevitably to that appeal to force, by which all prospect of establishing an equitable government was finally cut off.

Sanguine as the patriots of that assembly undoubtedly were, they might still have remembered the most obvious and important lesson in the whole volume of history, that the nation which has recourse to arms for the settlement of its internal affairs, necessarily falls under the iron yoke of a military government in the end, and that nothing

but the most evident necessity can justify the lovers of freedom in forcing it from the hands of their governors. In France, there certainly was no such necessity. The whole weight and strength of the nation was bent on political improvement and reform. There was no possibility of their being ultimately resisted; and the only danger to be apprehended was, that their progress would be too rapid.

After the states-general were granted, indeed, the victory of the friends to liberty was ascertained. They could not have gone too slowly afterwards; they could not have been satisfied with too little. The great object was to exclude the agency of force, and to leave no pretext for an appeal to violence. Nothing could have stood against the force of reason, which ought to have given way; and from a monarch of the character of Louis XVI, there was no reason to apprehend any attempt to regain, by violence, what he had yielded from philanthropy and conviction. The third estate would have *grown* into power, instead of usurping it; and would have gradually compressed the other orders into their proper dimensions, instead of displacing them by a violence that could never be forgiven. Even if the orders had deliberated separately, as they ought to have done, the commons were sure of an ultimate preponderance, and the government of a permanent improvement. Convened in a legislative assembly, and engrossing almost entirely the respect and affections of the nation, they would have enjoyed the unlimited liberty of political discussion, and gradually impressed on the government the character of their peculiar principles. By the restoration of the legislative function to the commons of the kingdom, the system was rendered complete, and required only to be put into action, in order to assume all those improvements which necessarily resulted from the increased wealth and intelligence of its representatives.

Of this fair chance of happiness and liberty the nation was disappointed, chiefly by the needless asperity and injudicious menaces of the popular party. They relied openly on the strength of their adherents among the populace. If they did not actually encourage them to threats and to acts of violence, they availed themselves at least of those which were committed, to intimidate and depress their opponents; for it is indisputably certain, that the unconditional compliance of the court with all the demands of the constituent assembly, was the result either of actual force, or the dread of its immediate application. This was the inauspicious commencement of the sins and the sufferings of the revolution. Their progress and termination were natural and necessary. The multitude, once allowed to overawe the old government with threats, soon subjected the new government to the same degradation, and, once permitted to act in arms, came speedily to dictate to those who were assembled to deliberate. As soon as an appeal was made to force, the decision came to be with those by whom force could at all times be commanded. Reason and philosophy were discarded, and mere terror and brute violence, in the various forms of proscriptions, insurrections, massacres, and military executions, harassed and distracted the misguided nation, till, by a natural consummation, they fell under the despotic sceptre of a military usurper. These consequences were obvious, and might have been easily foreseen. Nearly half a century had elapsed since they were pointed out in these memorable words of Hume, the most profound and philosophical of historians. "By recent, as well as by ancient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person."

The *second* inexcusable blunder of which the constituent assembly was guilty, was the extreme restlessness and precipitation with which they proceeded to accomplish, in a few weeks, the legislative labours of a century. Their constitution was struck out at a heat, and their measures of reform proposed and adopted like toasts at an anniversary dinner. Within less than six months from the period of their first convocation, they declared the illegality of all subsisting taxes; they abolished the old constitution of the states-general; they settled the limits of the royal prerogative, their own inviolability, and the responsibility of ministers. Before they put any one of their projects to the test of experiment, they had adopted such a multitude as entirely to change the condition of the country, and to expose even those which were salutary to misapprehension and miscarriage. From a scheme of reformation so impetuous, and an impatience so puerile, nothing permanent or judicious could be reasonably expected.

In legislating for their country, they seem to have forgotten that they were operating on a living and sentient substance, and not on an inert and passive mass, which they might model and compound according to their pleasure or their fancy. Human society is not like a piece of mechanism, which may be safely taken to pieces and put together by the hands of an ordinary artist. It is the work of nature, and not of man; and has received, from the hands of its author, an organization that cannot be destroyed without danger to its existence, and certain properties and powers that cannot be altered or suspended by those who may have been entrusted with its management. By studying these properties, and directing those powers, it may be modified and altered to a considerable extent.

A child cannot be stretched out by engines to the stature of a man, nor a man compelled, in a morning,

to excel in all the exercises of an athlete. Those into whose hands the destinies of a great nation are committed, should bestow on its reformation at least as much patient observance, and as much tender precaution, as are displayed by a skilful gardener in his treatment of a sickly plant. He props up those branches that are weak or overloaded, and gradually prunes and reduces those that are too luxuriant: he cuts away what is absolutely rotten and distempered: he stirs the earth about the root, and sprinkles it with water, and waits for the coming spring: he trains the young branches to the right hand or the left; and leads it, by a gradual and spontaneous progress, to expand or exalt itself, season after season, in the direction which he had previously determined: and thus, in the course of a few summers, he brings it, without injury or compulsion, into that form and proportion which could not with safety have been imposed on it in a shorter time. The reformers of France applied no such gentle solicitations, and could not wait for the effects of any such preparatory measures, or voluntary tendencies. They forcibly broke over its lofty boughs, and endeavoured to straighten its crooked joints by violence: they tortured it into symmetry in vain, and shed its life-blood on the earth, in the middle of its scattered branches.

The *third* great danger against which it was the duty of the intelligent and virtuous part of the deputies to provide, was that which arose from the sudden transference of power to the hands of men who had previously no natural or individual influence in the community. This was an evil, indeed, which arose necessarily, in some degree, from the defects of the old government, and from the novelty of the situation in which the country was placed by the convocation of the states-general; but it was materially aggravated by the presumption and improvidence of those enthusi-

astic legislators, and tended powerfully to produce those disasters by which they were ultimately overwhelmed.

No representative legislature can ever be respectable or secure, unless it contain within itself a great proportion of those who form the natural aristocracy of the country, and are able, as individuals, to influence the conduct and opinions of the greater part of its inhabitants. Unless the power, and weight, and authority of the assembly, in short, be really made up of the power, and weight, and authority of the individuals who compose it, the factitious dignity they may derive from their situation can never be of long endurance; and the dangerous power with which they may be invested will become the subject of scrambling and contention among the factions of the metropolis, and be employed for any purpose but the general good of the community.

In England, the house of commons is made up of the individuals who, by birth, fortune, or talents, possess singly the greatest influence over the rest of the people.—The most certain and the most permanent influence is that of rank and riches; and these are qualifications, accordingly, which return the greatest number of members. Men submit to be governed by the united will of those, to whose will, as individuals, the greater part of them have been previously accustomed to submit themselves; and an act of parliament is revered and obeyed, not solely because the people are impressed with the constitutional veneration for an institution called a parliament, but because it has been passed by the authority of those who are recognized as their natural superiors, and by whose influence, as individuals, the same measures might have been enforced over the greater part of the kingdom. Scarcely any new power is acquired, therefore, by the combination of those persons into a legislature: they carry each their share of influ-

ence and authority into the senate along with them; and it is by adding the items of it together, that the influence and authority of the senate itself is made up. From such a senate, therefore, it is obvious that their power can never be wrested, and that it would not even attach to those who might succeed in supplanting them in the legislature, by violence or intrigue, or by any other means than those by which they themselves had originally secured their nomination. In such a state of representation, in short, the influence of the representatives is not borrowed from their office, but the influence of the office is supported by that which is personal to its members; and parliament is only regarded as the great depositary of all the authority which formerly existed, in a scattered state, among its members. This authority, therefore, belonging to the men, and not to their places, can neither be lost by them, if they are forced from their places, nor found by those who may supplant them.

The long parliament, after it was purged by the independents, and the assemblies that met under that name, during the protectorate of Cromwell, held the place, and enjoyed all the form of power, that had belonged to their predecessors; but as they no longer contained those individuals who were able to sway and influence the opinion of the body of the people, they were without respect or authority, and speedily came to be the objects of public derision and contempt.

As the power and authority of the legislature, thus constituted, is perfectly secure and inalienable on the one hand, so, on the other, the moderation of its proceedings is guaranteed by a consciousness of the basis on which this authority is founded. Every individual, being aware of the extent to which his own influence is likely to reach among his constituents and dependents, is anxious that the mandates of the body shall never pass beyond that limit, within which

obedience may be easily secured. He will not hazard the loss of his own power, therefore, by any attempt to enlarge that of the legislature; and feeling, at every step, the weight and resistance of the people, the whole assembly proceeds with a due regard to their opinions and prejudices, and can never do any thing very injurious or very distasteful to the majority.

From the very nature of the authority with which they are invested, they are in fact consubstantiated with the people for whom they are to legislate. They do not sit loose upon them, like riders on race horses, nor speculate nor project experiments upon their welfare, like operators on a foreign substance. They are the natural organs of a great living body, and are not only warned, by their own feelings, of any injury which they may be tempted to inflict on it, but would become incapable of performing their functions, if they were to proceed far in debilitating the general system.

Such is the just conception of a free representative legislature.—Neither the English house of commons, indeed, nor any assembly of any other nation, ever realized it in all its perfection; but it is in their approximation to such a standard that their excellence and utility will be found to consist; and where these conditions are absolutely wanting, the sudden institution of a representative legislature will only be a step to the most frightful disorders. Where it is grown up in a country in which personal liberty and property are tolerably secure, it naturally assumes that form which is most favourable to its beneficial influence, and has a tendency to its own perpetual improvement, and to that of the condition of the whole society.

The difference between a free government and a tyrannical one consists entirely in the different proportions of the people that are influenced by their *opinion*, or subjugated by *force*. In a large society, opinions can only be re-united by

means of representation; and the natural representative is the individual whose example and authority can influence the opinions of the greater part of those in whose behalf he is delegated. This is the natural aristocracy of a civilized nation; and its legislature is then best modelled, when it is in the hands of those who answer to that description. The whole people are governed by the laws, exactly as each clan or district would have been by the patriarchal authority of an elective and unarmed chieftain; and the lawgivers are not only secure of their places while they can maintain their influence over the people, but are withheld from any rash or injurious measure, by the consciousness and feelings of their dependence on this voluntary deference and submission.

If this be a just representation of the conditions upon which the power and security of a representative legislature must always depend, it will not be difficult to explain how the experiment miscarried so completely with the French constituent assembly. That assembly, which the enthusiasm of the public, and the misconduct of the privileged orders soon enabled to engross the whole power of the country, consisted almost entirely of persons without name or individual influence, who owed the whole of their consequence to the situation to which they had been raised, and were not able, as individuals, to have influenced the opinions of one fiftieth part of their countrymen.

There was then in France no legitimate, wholesome, or real aristocracy. The noblesse, who were persecuted for bearing that name, were quite disconnected from the people. Their habits of perpetual residence in the capital, and their total independence of the good opinion of their vassals, had deprived them of any influence over the minds of the lower orders; and the organization of society had not yet enabled the rich manufacturers or proprietors to assume such an influence. The

persons sent as deputies to the states-general, therefore, were those chiefly who, by intrigue and boldness, and by professions of uncommon zeal for what were then the great objects of popular pursuit, had been enabled to carry the votes of the electors. A notion of talent, and an opinion that they would be loud and vehement in supporting those requests on which the people had already come to a decision, were their passports into that assembly. They were sent there to express the particular spirit of the people, and not to give a general pledge of their acquiescence in what might there be enacted. They were not the hereditary patrons of the people, but their hired advocates for a particular pleading. They had no general trust or authority over them, but were chosen as their special messengers, out of a multitude whose influence and pretensions were equally powerful.

When these men found themselves, by a sort of accident, in possession of the whole power of the state, and invested with the absolute government of the greatest nation that has existed in modern times, it is not to be wondered at if they forgot the slender ties by which they were bound to their constituents. The powers to which they had succeeded were so infinitely beyond any thing that they had enjoyed in their individual capacity, that it is not surprising if they never thought of exerting them with the same consideration and caution. Instead of the great bases of rank and property, which cannot be transferred by the clamours of the factious, or the caprice of the inconstant, and which serve to ballast and steady the vessel of the state in all its wanderings and disasters, the assembly possessed only the basis of talents or reputation; qualities which depend on opinion and opportunity, and which may be attributed in the same proportion to an inconvenient multitude at once. The whole legislature may be considered, therefore, as composed of *adventurers*, who had already at-

tained a situation far above their original pretensions, and were now tempted to push their fortune by every means that held out the promise of immediate success. They had nothing, comparatively speaking, to lose, but their places in the assembly, or the influence which they possessed within its walls; and as the authority of the assembly itself depended altogether on the popularity of its measures, and not on the intrinsic authority of its members, so it was only to be maintained by a succession of brilliant resolutions, and by satisfying or outdoing the extravagant wishes and expectations of the most extravagant and sanguine populace that ever existed. For a man to get a lead in such an assembly, it was by no means necessary that he should have previously possessed any influence or authority in the community; that he should be connected with powerful families, or supported by opulent and extensive associations. If he could dazzle and overawe in debate, if he could obtain the acclamations of the mob of Versailles, and make himself familiar to the eyes and the ears of the assembly and its galleries, he was in a fair train for having a great share in the direction of an assembly, exercising absolute sovereignty over thirty millions of men. The prize was too tempting not to attract a multitude of competitors; and the assembly for many months was governed by those who outvied their associates in the impracticable extravagance of their patriotism, and sacrificed most profusely the real interests of the people at the shrine of a precarious popularity.

In this way, the assembly, from the inherent vices of its constitution, ceased to be respectable or useful. The same causes speedily put an end to its security, and converted it into an instrument of destruction.

Mere popularity was at first the instrument by which this unsteady legislature was governed: but when it became apparent, that whoever could obtain the direction or command of it, must possess the whole

authority of the state, parties became less scrupulous about the means they employed for that purpose, and soon found out that violence and terror were infinitely more effectual and expeditious than persuasion and eloquence. The people at large, who had no attachment to any families or individuals among their delegates, and who contented themselves with idolizing the assembly in general, so long as it passed decrees to their liking, were passive and indifferent spectators of the transfer of power effected by the pikes of the Parisian multitude, and looked with equal affection upon every successive junta which assumed the management of its deliberations. Having no natural representatives, they felt themselves equally connected with all who exercised the legislative function; and, being destitute of a real aristocracy, were without the means of giving effectual support even to those who might appear to deserve it.

Encouraged by this situation of affairs, the most daring, unprincipled, and profligate, proceeded to seize on the defenceless legislature, and, driving all their antagonists before them by violence or threats, entered without opposition on the supreme functions of government. The arms, however, by which they had been victorious, were capable of being turned against themselves; and those who were envious of their success, or ambitious of their distinction, easily found means to excite discontent among the multitude, now inured to insurrection, and to employ them in pulling down those very individuals whom they had so recently exalted. The disposal of the legislature thus became a prize to be fought for in the clubs, and conspiracies, and insurrections of a corrupt metropolis; and the institution of a national representative had no other effect, than that of laying the government open to lawless force and flagitious audacity.

It is in this manner, that from the want of a natural and efficient aristocracy to exercise the func-

tions of representative legislators, the national assembly of France was betrayed into extravagance, and fell a prey to faction; that the institution itself became a source of public misery and disorder, and converted a civilized monarchy first into a sanguinary democracy, and then into a military despotism.

It would be the excess of injustice to impute these disastrous consequences to the moderate and virtuous individuals who sat in the constituent assembly; but if it be admitted that they might have been easily foreseen, it will not be easy to exculpate them from the charge of very blamable imprudence. It would be still more difficult indeed to point out any course of conduct by which those dangers might have been entirely avoided; but they would undoubtedly have been less formidable, if the enlightened members of the third estate had endeavoured to form a party with the more liberal and popular among the nobility; if they had associated to themselves a greater number of those to whose persons a certain degree of influence was attached, from their fortune, their age, or their official situation; if, instead of grasping presumptuously at the exclusive direction of the national councils, and arrogating every thing on the credit of their zealous patriotism and inexperienced abilities, they had sought to strengthen themselves by an alliance with what was respectable in the existing establishments, and attached themselves at first as disciples to those whom they expected speedily to outgrow and eclipse.

On a review of the whole matter, it seems impossible to acquit those of the revolutionary patriots, whose intentions are admitted to be pure, of great precipitation, presumption, and imprudence. Apologies may be found for them, perhaps, in the inexperience which was incident to their situation; in their constant apprehension of being separated before their task was accomplished; in the exasperation which was excited by

the injudicious proceedings of the cabinet; and in the intoxication which naturally resulted from the magnitude of their early triumph, and the noise and resounding of their popularity. But the errors into which they fell were inexcusable in politicians of the eighteenth century; and while we pity their sufferings, and admire their genius, we cannot feel any respect for their wisdom, or any surprize at their miscarriage.

For the Literary Magazine.

LAWYERS DEFENDED.

NOTHING is more common than the abuse of lawyers. With the mass of mankind, a lawyer and a knave are almost synonymous terms; and the outcry against their avarice and extortion is particularly unanimous and loud. A lawyer's demands are always paid grudgingly, and inevitably considered as exceeding his dues. A man will pay his carpenter, his taylor, his dancing-master with little or no hesitation, but his lawyer's claims are always listened to with suspicion and jealousy, and his wages, however moderate, paid from a sense, not of gratitude or justice, but necessity.

Most persons who deal in this sort of general calumny must themselves be either knaves or fools: those of the former class, who, through improper conduct, have been brought under the lash of the law, seek for revenge by endeavouring to stigmatize its professors; and the latter, from inexperience and vulgar prejudice, throw out their impotent slander without having inquired whether there be any foundation for it or not.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, that among the inferior practitioners in the law, there are men of the vilest characters; but they are in general so well known, that none but bad or incautious people would employ, or be deceived by them.

The general body of the law is composed of men of the highest honour and integrity; men in whom the utmost confidence is justly placed by the community, and to whose abilities and assistance many persons owe much of their security and happiness.

It is certainly true, that the profession of the law, and the law itself (which is finely called by Aristotle *mind without passion*), has been always the subject of abuse, and it may be accounted for without difficulty.

Almost every man who enters into a law suit (which is often contrary to his attorney's advice, and with a case favourably stated by himself) is sanguine of success. Warmed by passion, and a determination to overwhelm his adversary, he proceeds with blind fury, regardless of consequences. On the day of trial, however, new facts appear, and his suit is determined against him: he never reflects that his cause was bad, or that he had deceived his attorney, but he takes care to let the world know that his attorney was a knave, that he was bribed by his opponent, or was inattentive to his duty; or he will perhaps go a step farther, and assume prejudice in the judge and jury. If he succeeds in his suit, his adversary thinks himself entitled to be equally censorious, and thus the lawyers, on one side or the other, are sure to be calumniated.

This, at least, is very frequently the practice, and it is therefore not extraordinary, though it is to be regretted, that attorneys of the fairest characters are generally averse to the conduct of law suits. Exclusive of persons who thus lose their causes, the profligate and dishonest part of the community, who are sued for debts which they refuse to pay, join in trite reflections on the profession; and others, who employ what they call *sharp lawyers*, without any regard to their honesty, make grievous complaints, because the men whom they intended should *take in others*, have taken in themselves. Another and a principal

ground of complaint arises from what practitioners can seldom prevent, the heavy expence, and often the long duration of suits. This is undoubtedly a dreadful hardship on suitors, but it is imputable to a variety of causes, which it would require much time and labour to explain, and be difficult to remove.

For the *Literary Magazine*.

THE ADVERSARIA,

Or *Winter Evening Amusements*.

NO. XIX.

Thus in delight my *winter evenings* roll.

POPE had as little of the poet in his feelings as any man that ever drank from the Pierian stream.—He was too wise, too cautious, too worldly in his notions. The characteristics of a genuine poet are as opposite to this prudence, this spirit of calculation, as the splendour of noon-day is to the dulness of midnight. He is distinguished by a total disregard of the morrow, and does not vex his mind by curious doubts of what it may produce, but, as an ancient expresses it, lives as if each day was to be his last. Such men as Savage, Chatterton, Dermody, &c., were the true sons of song. But on such a mind as Pope possessed, the advice of his friend Hughes was not lost.

Oh thou who, with a happy genius born,
Canst tuneful verse in flowing numbers
turn,
Crown'd on thy Windsor's plains with
early bays,
Be early wise, nor trust to barren praise.
Blind was the bard who sung Achilles'
rage,
He sung, and begg'd, and curs'd the un-
giving age;
If Britain his translated song would hear,
First take the gold—then charm the list-
'ning ear;
So shall thy father Homer smile to see
His pension paid—though late, and paid
to thee*.

* Hughes's Works, vol. 2, p. 90.

This exactly suited the accumulative spirit of the poet ; he published Homer by subscription, and his translation gave him ease and affluence.

Since I have introduced the name of Hughes, I will indulge my rambling manner, and add a few remarks concerning him, as I conceive the name of one of the correspondents of the *Spectator* to be not altogether uninteresting to literary students.

John Hughes was born in 1677. Under the care of Mr. Thomas Rowe, a dissenting minister, the same who taught the celebrated Dr. Watts, he was early initiated in the principles of classical learning, and he discovered that predilection for the pleasures of poetry, which in a short time placed him in a respectable rank with the most eminent wits of the day. In his nineteenth year he formed the plan of a regular tragedy, which, however, he never executed ; but his paraphrases of some of the best parts of Horace, and his poem on the *Peace of Ryswic*, published in 1697, exhibit no mean talents for poetry. But unfortunately his taste and his ambition led him to soar in a region in which his genius could not support him. Horace had foretold the fate of him who should venture too far, and his prediction was verified by the attempts of Hughes.

Pindarum quisque studet æmulari, I—
Pule, ceratis ope Dædaleâ
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturas
Nomina ponto.

He had not that brilliancy of imagination, that fertility of versification, which lyric poetry requires ; and hence his odes *To the Creator of the World*, in *Praise of Women*, and *The House of Nassau*, miserably fail in exciting any more than admiration of the harmony of his lines. They are flat, stale, and, I had almost added, unprofitable. The poetry of Hughes possessed an extrinsic advantage, which contributed very essentially to its temporary

popularity. He had himself some skill in music, but being aided by the talents of Pepusch and Handel, his strains were warbled by many an admiring enthusiast. But his title to a rank among English poets must rest chiefly upon his *Siege of Damascus*. This drama contains principles of morality which might please the most rigid judge ; but although the style of it is harmonious, and the imagery often felicitous, it yet wants that power of touching the feelings, without which no play can long be a favourite upon the stage. He was more successful as a translator than as an original poet. His version of the *Pyramus and Thisbe* of Ovid, is one of the most faithful exhibitions we have of the elegance of Roman genius. He was employed by Jacob Tonson, in 1712, in conjunction with others, to translate Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and the part which he selected was promptly and elegantly finished, but the indolence or the incapacity of his coadjutors prevented the completion of the plan. His little fragments from Orpheus, Pindar, Euripides, and Anacreon, evince an accurate knowledge of the Grecian idiom. From the French language he gave us Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead*, his *Discourse concerning the Ancients and the Moderns*, the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, the *Misanthrope* of Moliere, and the abbe Vertot's *History of the Revolution of Portugal*.

To the friendship of lord Cowper he was indebted for the very profitable place of secretary to the commission of peace, upon the accession of George the first. Upon the authority of various editors and commentators we may assign to his pen the following letters in the *Tatler* : Josiah Couplet, No. 64 ; Will Trusty, No. 73 ; Philanthropos, No. 66 ; September 15, No. 70 ; Letter No. 76 and No. 194, containing an allegory from Spenser ; and No. 113, including a strange inventory of a beau. In the *Spectator*, No. 252, he gives us a very humorous letter on the *artful eloquence of tears and fainting fits*, which females so successfully

practise ; No. 306, containing the doleful complaints of Parthenissa, on the loss of beauty, by that dreadful enemy of feminine attractions, the small-pox ; No. 141, criticisms on Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches*, a popular comedy of that time ; Nos. 83 and 53, on the art of improving beauty ; No. 66, on the fine breeding of ladies ; No. 104, on the riding-habits of ladies, which, I suppose, were just becoming a fashionable attire, but which he thought *sat awkwardly on English modesty* ; No. 220, on mechanical contrivances for the manufacture of verses ; No. 251, on excessive bashfulness before public assemblies ; No. 381, on the machinations of fortune-hunters ; No. 539, on the injudicious interpolation of standard sermons in the pulpit ; No. 540, on the merits of Spenser's *Faery Queen* ; No. 554, an admirable essay on the improvement of genius, in which the characters of Bacon, Locke, Newton, and the unfortunate Leonardo da Vinci are judiciously discriminated ; No. 541, on pronunciation and action ; No. 91, on the ridiculous rivalry of a mother and daughter, a circumstance not uncommon in the present age ; No. 224, on the universality of ambition. Hughes evinced his gratitude to lord Cowper by a dedication of the *Siege of Damascus*, and his respect to the memory of that worthy nobleman was further testified, in No. 467, for whom the character of MANILIUS in that number appears to have been designed. His observations on conjugal love, in No. 525, deserve to be attentively considered by all who take the dangerous leap : this, with No. 537, on the dignity of human nature ; No. 210, on the immortality of the soul ; and No. 237, on divine providence, I believe, are all the contributions of Hughes to the *Spectator*. To the *Guardian* he only furnished No. 37, on the play of *Othello*, which contains some excellent reflections on the "green-eyed monster," Jealousy. In Dunscombe's Collection of Letters, printed in 1772, there are three on loquacity and masquerading, which were written

by Hughes, and intended for the *Guardian*. Dr. Drake concludes his sketch of the life of Hughes, by characterizing all the essays of this excellent man, as written in "a style which is in general easy, correct, and elegant ; they occasionally," he says, "exhibit wit and humour ; and they uniformly tend to inculcate the best precepts, moral, *prudential*, and religious."

And I cannot better conclude this hasty sketch, which my respect and love for the man have induced me to compile, than by copying the elegant and impressive testimony of the affection of Steele for his friend and associate.

Mr. Hughes, says sir Richard, in his *THEATRE*, No. 15, could hardly ever be said to have enjoyed health ; but, was, in the very best of his days, a valetudinarian. If those who are sparing of giving praise to any virtue without extenuation of it, should say that his youth was chastised into the severity, and preserved in the innocence for which he was so conspicuous, from the infirmity of his constitution, they will be under new difficulty, when they hear that he had none of those faults to which ill state of health ordinarily subjects the rest of mankind. His incapacity for more frolic diversions never made him peevish or sour to those whom he saw in them ; but his humanity was such, that he could partake and share those pleasures he beheld others enjoy, without repining that he himself could not join in them. No ; he made a true use of an ill constitution, and formed his mind to the living under it with as much satisfaction as it could admit of. His intervals of ease were employed in drawing, designing, or else in music or poetry ; for he had not only a taste, but an ability of performance to a great excellence, in those arts which entertain the mind within the rules of the severest morality, and the strictest dictates of religion. He did not seem to wish for more than he possessed, even as to his health, but to condemn sensuality as a sober man does

drunkenness; he was so far from envying, that he pitied the jollities that were enjoyed by a more happy constitution. He could converse with the most sprightly without peevishness; and sickness itself had no other effect upon him, than to make him look upon all violent pleasures as evils he had escaped without the trouble of avoiding. Peace be with thy remains, thou amiable spirit! but I talk in the language of our weakness. That is flown to the regions of day and immortality, and relieved from the aching engine and painful instrument of anguish and sorrow, in which, for a long and tedious few years, he panted with a lively hope for his present condition. We shall consign the trunk, in which he was so long imprisoned, to common earth, with all that is due to the merit of its late inhabitant.

Congreve is the author of a part of No. 42 in the *Tatler*, in which he has depicted the character of lady Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, one of the most accomplished ladies of her time.—“Scarce has any age,” says an annotator on the paper, “since the commencement of the christian æra, produced a lady of such high birth and superior accomplishments, who was a greater blessing to many, or a brighter pattern to all. By all accounts she must have been little less than the angels.”

But Steele seems to have exerted all his genius, when in No. 49 he speaks of the same lady, and presents to us a portrait with which no one can refrain from being enamoured.

Aspasia must be allowed to be the first of the order of love, whose unaffected freedom and conscious innocence give her the attendance of the graces in all her actions.—That awful distance which we bear toward her in all our thoughts about her, and that cheerful familiarity with which we approach her, are certain instances of her being the truest object of love of any of her sex. In this accomplished lady, love

is the constant effect, because it is never the design. Yet though her *mein* carries more invitation than command, to behold her is an immediate check to loose behaviour; and to love her is a liberal education; for, it being the nature of all love to create an imitation of the beloved person in the lover, a regard for Aspasia naturally produces decency of manners, and good conduct of life in her admirers.

I. E. H.

Baltimore.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE REFLECTOR.

NO. XIII.

IN my last paper I commenced my observations on the epistle of Maltronio, and then thought to have concluded them; but when once a subject is fixed upon for investigation, it is not easy to tell where the inquiry will end, to what it may lead, or how much paper may be occupied with the representatives of our reflections. The human mind is too independent to submit to such impotent shackles; it spurns them, and they vanish at a touch, like the thin vapours of morning before the rising sun; the subject unfolds itself, it spreads to unexpected dimensions, it exhibits new appearances, occasions new inquiries, and sometimes terminates in an unexpected conclusion.

On looking over the diary of my correspondent, we find that he is generally employed in his professional labours; what they were, he does not mention, nor is it of importance: whether he performed a duty important or trivial, in the eyes of mankind, cannot affect the present observations. One day he “laboured hard to little purpose” (or, as I think, for a trifling advantage); “several circumstances occurred which made him betray impatience;” he then resolved to acquire more of

this valuable quality. Another day his labours were continued as usual, and his mind was occupied in contemplating the means by which he might serve the interests, and contribute to the happiness of mankind. Let no one think it degrading to the dignity of the Reflector, to employ himself in noticing the diary of one who labours as does my correspondent. Necessity may indeed chain down the body to the humblest employments, but tyranny itself cannot fetter the mind accustomed to reflection; it bids defiance to the threats of the despot, and exercises its exalted freedom in despite of power. In the present instance, the body, compelled to labour, exercised no influence over the freedom of the mind, nor restrained the indulgence of speculative benevolence, and laudable ambition: and notwithstanding that benevolence *was merely speculative*, yet that ambition was *noble*, and the means of gratifying it meritorious. And though impatience sullied the brightness of the picture of his mind for that day, yet it is counterbalanced, by the candour with which the error is acknowledged, and the promptitude of the consequent resolution to correct it.

One day he refused to grant the cheap request of a neighbour to assist him in erecting a stove, because it did not accord with the magnitude of his ideas, and the unbounded extent of his beneficent intentions. At another time, he refused a famished beggar a few cents, to save him from perishing. At another, he was involved in a quarrel, by defending the violated rights of a negro. I am almost disposed to smile at the glaring inconsistencies in the character and conduct of mankind; at the difference between their theory, and their practice; their future intentions, and their present works. But such, we know, is the character of man, and instead of occasioning surprise, it only excites regret.—However, my correspondent is entitled to praise, for borrowing what he had not, to relieve the necessities of another; and, notwithstanding

the vanity of the attempt, to oppose himself to a mob in defence of another's rights, we cannot fail to applaud the generosity of the motive.

There are many means of being serviceable to mankind, at a very small expence; but speculatists overlook them, by stretching their view to some great but distant object. The sphere of benevolence and charity is, with respect to a humble individual, necessarily contracted, yet every one forms one around him sufficiently extensive for the exercise of his good intentions to the utmost of his abilities, whether he exercises it by giving pecuniary relief to occasional distress, or by affording the sufferer the consolations of sympathy, or the little personal services which tenderness so well knows how to bestow.

Those persons have not lived in vain, nor without serving the interests of society, who, by correct conduct, have set a good example for the imitation of their neighbours; who, though they had nothing to give, have awakened the slumbering charity of those who had; who, by their industry and frugality, have supported a family in a state of independence; whose admonitions have saved the youthful from error, and the aged from destruction; whose patriotism, though it has never led them to the "martial plain," has preserved their neighbourhood from the evils of party violence, by the wisdom of their precepts, or the excellence of their example; whose ingenuity has raised them to eminence in their profession: certainly they have not. Nor are these all the means which may promote the interests of society. He that cultivates the minor virtues, though he may do it in the bosom of his family, in the deepest shade of retirement, deserves well the applause of mankind; for such is the organization of society, that even a negative good, a life passed without the performance of any positively good action, promotes its interests, by preventing positive evil. Whether such a life may be properly considered a use-

ful one, in a more confined view of the subject, or not, I may, perhaps, make the subject of a future number. I will now conclude, by advising the aspiring Maltronic to give less scope to his speculations, and more to his actions; to calm the fervour of ambition by the dictates of reason, and, though he may lament that the means of doing much is denied him, to console himself by doing that which is in his power; for though but one talent has been entrusted to his care, he will nevertheless be compelled to give a strict account of the manner in which he has used it, at that great tribunal where the motives and actions of men will be weighed in the balance of eternal justice.

VALVERDI.

November 17th, 1806.

For the Literary Magazine.

CONDUCT OF ENGLAND TOWARDS
IRELAND.

THE conduct of England towards Ireland is the darkest part of her history. Founded in unjust usurpation her dominion was maintained by a scheme of proceeding, in which folly and oppression went hand in hand. The country was parcelled out among a few English adventurers, who speedily became not less barbarous than the natives, whom it was their chief care to exterminate, while their feuds and rebellions prevented every benefit which the policy of government might, from time to time, have communicated to so extensive a portion of the empire. Hence, neither by conquest or submission had Ireland become fully subject to the English crown, till the vigorous administration of Elizabeth overpowered the last struggle of Irish independence.

In this infirm state of things the reformation was introduced into Ireland; not called for, as in England, and still more perhaps in Scotland, by the voice of national

opinion, but arbitrarily imposed on a superstitious and ignorant people, by a government which they already detested.

There cannot be any truer principle, with respect to religious establishments, than that the opinions of the majority, when indisputable, should decide on the particular sect by whose ministers they are to be instructed, and the expences of which they are to defray. But, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, there were not sixty protestants in Ireland; and the progress of this infant church, with all sorts of protecting bounties to its friends, and every discouragement to its adversaries, was nothing till the colonists of James I, and the soldiers of Cromwell, supplied the place of native converts.

It seems, indeed, a question, whether the anomalous system of the church of England, differing so materially from the catholic in doctrine, and as widely from the other protestant churches in discipline, though proved by experience to be well adapted to the country where it was framed, be equally fitted to any other people. In Scotland, in Ireland, in America, wherever, in short, the experiment has been tried, it has certainly failed of success; and perhaps the ecclesiastic, like the civil polity of England, possesses a racy flavour of its native soil, which, by nations of different temperament and prejudices, cannot be safely imitated. Be this as it may, the people of Ireland adhered to the Romish communion; and various penal laws were enacted during the reign of Elizabeth, which, however, like the corresponding statutes in England, neither impaired the rights of property, nor took away from recusants their seats in parliament.

In the reign of Charles I, broke out that memorable rebellion, during which more than 600,000 lives were wasted by war, famine, plague, hardship, and banishment; and two thirds of all the lands of the island were forfeited by the original pro-

prietors. Whatever might have been the provocations to this contest, it was carried on by the insurgents with a mixture of wickedness and infatuation to which there is hardly any parallel in history; and, from the era of their subjugation, severer treatment from an alarmed and exasperated government was at least the natural reward of their unsuccessful appeal to the sword.

Few statesmen have ever been placed in a situation more embarrassing than the duke of Ormond, in the adjustment of Irish affairs after the restoration. The lands of the catholics had already passed, by the tide of conquest, into the hands of Cromwell's soldiery; conflicting claims were set up on every side; some stood on parliamentary compact, some on royal promises, some on personal desert; the innocent were swept away by general presumptions of guilt, and the guilty saved by fictitious proofs of their innocence. Out of this chaos of perplexed and jarring interests arose the act of settlement, the seal and ratification of a transfer of property, amounting to near eight millions of acres, which passed from Irish to English, from catholic to protestant dominion.

It is not conceivable, that even a race of Gentoos should submit to such losses without the wish to retrieve them; and it may be guessed what effect they would have on Hibernian temperaments. Accordingly, during the short-lived triumph of James II in Ireland, his parliament, in which only six protestants sat, passed a law, against the inclination of that prince, for the absolute repeal of the act of settlement. Victory, on the banks of the Boyne, once more decided that Ireland must submit to protestant rulers; and the keenness of the struggle seemed to impose a necessity on the conquerors, of preserving what their swords had won, by more harsh ~~oppression~~ of the vanquished than before.

The severe laws against popery began in the reign of William III:

that, in particular, which excludes the professors of that religion from parliament, was passed in the third year of his reign. It is usual to charge these laws on the religious bigotry of victors. But the protestant ascendancy of Ireland cared very little about purgatory and the seven sacraments. They acted on principles simply political; and their severity was not derived from polemical rancour, but from the two great springs of bitterness, which turn the milk of human nature into gall, revenge and fear. They knew what the vanquished had done in the hour of success; they dreaded their numbers, and sought to strengthen the barriers of law against the rude arm of physical power.

The popery laws, in Ireland, in their present state, are folly, caprice, feeble and petulant tyranny. As they stood originally, they were vigorous and consistent; the firm, well-riveted fetters of conquest, locking into one another, and stretching down the captive giant to the floor. For more than half a century after the revolution, the appellation of *the common enemy* was regularly given to the catholics, not in loose declamation, but in the legitimate and deliberate language of lord-lieutenants and parliaments. The struggles of contending factions never waked them from their lethargy, nor raised them from their abasement; and, while the names of liberty and patriotism were on the tongue of every protestant, it was never conceived that four-fifths of the people could neither share in the one, or be the object of the other. The catholics are hardly named as a distinct body, throughout the whole political writings of Swift. Indeed, their first resuscitation is said to have taken place during the viceroyalty of the duke of Bedford in 1757, when they ventured to present an address to the castle.

The great object of this oppressive policy was undoubtedly to keep under a powerful enemy; the next was probably to force him over to the protestant side. It might, &

century since, be very plausibly supposed, that self-interest, working on a large class of men, would get the better of conscience; and that a catholic, excluded from political honours, cut off from many even of the common rights of property, and rendered a slave and alien in his own country, would either quit that country, or the faith, which made the country a stepmother to him. Protestantism, however, has made no converts; and as a great majority of the people have adhered to their original tenets under such discouraging circumstances, the established church of Ireland may perhaps be considered as an experiment which has completely failed. No rational man can look to a time when the catholic religion will not prevail in Ireland. Few nations have had a stronger interest, politically speaking, in the progress of one sect above another, than Great Britain in the growth of the reformed faith on the west of St. George's Channel. But she has not been successful in her method. Laws, penal or restrictive, are but rough medicines, and if the disease be incurable, it is some consolation to have discarded the physician.

The surprize which many worthy protestants may feel at the slow progress of their own opinions, in a country subject to the same laws as England, will probably be abated, when they know the actual state of the Irish hierarchy. An account, presented to the house of commons in 1803, exhibits the number of parishes in Ireland, and of the benefices or unions of parishes into which the same have been distributed and reduced, and also of the churches and glebe houses which actually existed in 1791. This document exhibits a striking view of the aptness which the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland seems to possess for diffusing religious instruction throughout the mass of the people.

According to this statement, there are about 2400 parishes, which have been thrown, by unions, many of them very improper, and some very

recently made, into about 1100 benefices, some of which extend over vast tracts of country. Many of the parishes have no church, which was the case with a parish in Dublin, said to contain 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the benefices have no glebe, the ancient glebe having been confounded with, and lost in, the lands of lay-proprietors. Many more of the benefices have no glebe house, so that the clergyman has no means of residence within his parish: unfortunately, too, benefices in this deplorable state have been deemed the most desirable: a parish without a church, without a glebe-house, and, an almost necessary consequence, without a protestant inhabitant.

For the Literary Magazine.

CHARACTER OF DR. FRANKLIN.

A JUST view of the character of Dr. Franklin has probably never been given by any of his countrymen. While living, the world was divided into passionate friends and rancorous enemies, and since his death a kind of political tincture still adheres to all our sentiments concerning him. Among his own countrymen, prejudice and passion, which used to be enlisted wholly on his side, has, in some respects, become hostile to him, and an impartial estimate of his merits can perhaps only be looked for among foreigners. The following portrait is taken from a foreign publication, and seems to be altogether dispassionate and equitable.

Nothing, says this writer, can show more clearly the singular want of literary enterprize or activity, in America, than that no one has yet been found, in that flourishing republic, to collect and publish the works of their only philosopher. It is not even very creditable to the liberal curiosity of the English public, that there should have been no complete edition of the writings of Dr. Franklin, till the year 1806;

nor should we be able to account for the imperfect manner in which the task has now been performed, but for a statement in the prefatory advertisement. We are told, that recently after the death of the author, his grandson, to whom the whole of his papers were bequeathed, made a voyage to London, for the purpose of preparing and disposing of a complete collection of all his published and unpublished writings, with memoirs of his life, brought down by himself to the year 1757, and continued to his death by his descendant. The work was to be published in three quarto volumes, in England, Germany, and France; and a negotiation was commenced with the booksellers. At this stage of the business, however, the proposals were suddenly withdrawn, and nothing more has been heard of the work in this its fair and natural market. It is hinted that the suppression of the work was purchased by the British ministry.

We shall omit the reflexions which this statement naturally suggests to us, whether we consider the claims of the dead or of the living, and proceed to some general remarks upon the character of Franklin.

This self-taught American is the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. He never loses sight of common sense in any of his speculations; and when his philosophy does not consist entirely in its fair and vigorous application, it is always regulated and controuled by it in its application and result. No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority.

Dr. Franklin received no regular education; and he spent the greater part of his life in a society where there was no relish and no encouragement for literature. On an ordinary mind, these circumstances would have produced their usual effects, of repressing all sort of intellectual ambition or activity, and perpetuating a generation of incurious mechanics; but to an under-

standing like Franklin's, they were peculiarly propitious, and we can trace back to them, distinctly, almost all the peculiarities of his intellectual character.

Regular education is unfavourable to vigour or originality of understanding. Like civilization, it makes society more intelligent and agreeable; but it levels the distinctions of nature. It strengthens and assists the feeble; but it deprives the strong of his triumph, and casts down the hopes of the aspiring. It accomplishes this, not only by training up the mind in a habitual veneration for authorities, but, by leading us to bestow a disproportionate degree of attention on studies that are only valuable as keys or instruments for the understanding, they come at last to be regarded as ultimate objects of pursuit; and the means of education are absurdly mistaken for its end.

How many powerful understandings have been lost in the dialectics of Aristotle! and of how much good philosophy are we daily defrauded, by the preposterous error of taking a knowledge of prosody for useful learning! The mind of a man, who has escaped this training, will at least have fair play. Whatever other errors he may fall into, he will be safe at least from their infatuations. If he thinks proper, after he grows up, to study Greek, it will be for some better purpose than to become acquainted with its dialects. His prejudices will be those of a man, and not of a schoolboy; and his speculations and conclusions will be independent of the maxims of tutors, and the oracles of literary patrons.

The consequences of living in a refined and literary community, are nearly of the same kind with those of a regular education. There are so many critics to be satisfied, so many qualifications to be established, so many rivals to encounter, and so much derision to be hazarded, that a young man is apt to be deterred from so perilous an enterprize, and led to seek for distinction in some safer line of exertion. He is

discouraged by the fame and the perfection of certain models and favourites, who are always in the mouths of his judges, and, 'under them, his genius is rebuked,' and originality repressed, till he sinks into a paltry copyist, or aims at distinction, by extravagance and affectation. In such a state of society, he feels that mediocrity has no chance of distinction; and what beginner can expect to rise at once into excellence? He imagines that mere good sense will attract no attention; and that the manner is of much more importance than the matter, in a candidate for public admiration. In his attention to the manner, the matter is apt to be neglected; and, in his solicitude to please those who require elegance of diction, brilliancy of wit, or harmony of periods, he is in some danger of forgetting that strength of reason, and accuracy of observation by which he first proposed to recommend himself. His attention, when extended to so many collateral objects, is no longer vigorous or collected: the stream, divided into so many channels, ceases to flow either deep or strong; he becomes an unsuccessful pretender to fine writing, and is satisfied with the frivolous praise of elegance or vivacity.

These obstructions to intellectual originality are so powerful, that if Franklin had been bred in a college, he would probably have contented himself with expounding the metres of Pindar, and mixing argument with his port in the common room; and that if Boston had abounded with men of letters, he would never have ventured to come forth from his printing-house, or been driven back to it, at any rate, by the sneers of the critics, after the first publication of his essays in the *Busy Body*.

This will probably be thought exaggerated; but it cannot be denied that the contrary circumstances in his history had a powerful effect in determining the character of his understanding, and in producing those peculiar habits of reasoning and in-

vestigation by which his writings are distinguished. He was encouraged to publish, because there was scarcely any one around him whom he could not easily excel. He wrote with great brevity, because he had not leisure for more voluminous compositions, and because he knew that the readers to whom he addressed himself were, for the most part, as busy as himself. For the same reason, he studied great perspicuity and simplicity of statement: his countrymen had no relish for fine writing, and could not easily be made to understand a deduction depending on a long or elaborate process of reasoning. He was forced, therefore, to concentrate what he had to say; and since he had no chance of being admired for the beauty of his composition, it was natural for him to aim at making an impression by the force and clearness of his statements.

His conclusions were often rash and inaccurate, from the same circumstances which rendered his productions concise. Philosophy and speculation did not form the business of his life; nor did he dedicate himself to any particular study, with a view to exhaust and complete the investigation of it in all its parts, and under all its relations. He engaged in every interesting inquiry that suggested itself to him, rather as the necessary exercise of a powerful and active mind, than as a task which he had bound himself to perform. He cast a quick and penetrating glance over the facts and the *data* that were presented to him; and drew his conclusions with a rapidity and precision that have not often been equalled: but he did not stop to examine the completeness of the *data* upon which he proceeded, nor to consider the ultimate effect or application of the principles to which he had been conducted. In all questions, therefore, where the facts upon which he was to determine, and the materials from which his judgment was to be formed, were either few in number, or of such a nature as not to be over-

looked, his reasonings are for the most part perfectly just and conclusive, and his decisions unexceptionably sound; but where the elements of the calculation were more numerous and widely scattered, he has often been precipitate, and he has either been misled by a partial apprehension of the conditions of the problem, or has discovered only a portion of the truth which lay before him.

In all physical inquiries; in almost all questions of particular and immediate policy; and in much of what relates to the practical wisdom and the happiness of private life, his views will be found to be admirable, and the reasoning by which they are supported most masterly and convincing. But on subjects of general politics, of abstract morality, and political economy, his notions appear to be more unsatisfactory and incomplete.

He seems to have wanted leisure, and, perhaps, inclination also, to spread out before him the whole vast premises of these extensive sciences, and scarcely to have had patience to hunt for his conclusions through so wide and intricate a region as that upon which they invited him to enter. He has been satisfied, therefore, on every occasion, with reasoning from a very limited view of the facts, and often from a particular instance: he has done all that sagacity and sound sense could do with such materials; but it cannot excite wonder, if he has sometimes overlooked an essential part of the argument, and often advanced a particular truth into the place of a general principle. He seldom reasoned on these subjects at all, without having some practical application of them immediately in view; and as he began the investigation rather to determine a particular case, than to establish a general maxim, so he probably desisted as soon as he had relieved himself of the present difficulty.

There are not many among the thorough bred scholars and philosophers of Europe, who can lay claim

to distinction in more than one or two departments of science or literature. The uneducated tradesman of America has left writings that call for our attention, in natural philosophy, in politics, in political economy, and in general literature and morality.

His labours in the department of *physics* were almost all suggested by views of utility in the beginning, and were, without exception, applied to promote those views in the end. His letters on *electricity* have been more extensively circulated than any of his other writings; and are entitled to more praise and popularity than they seem ever to have met with in Europe. Nothing can be more admirable than the luminous and graphical precision with which the experiments are narrated; the ingenuity with which they are projected; and the sagacity with which the conclusion is inferred, limited, and confirmed.

The most remarkable thing, however, in these, and, indeed, in the whole of his physical speculations, is the unparalleled simplicity and facility with which the reader is conducted from one stage of the inquiry to another. The author never appears for a moment to labour, or to be at a loss. The most ingenious and profound explanations are suggested, as if they were the most natural and obvious way of accounting for phenomena; and the author seems to value himself so little on his most important discoveries, that it is necessary to compare him with others, before we can form a just notion of his merits.

As he seems to be conscious of no exertion, he feels no partiality for any part of his speculations, and never seeks to raise the reader's idea of their importance, by any arts of declamation or eloquence. Indeed, the habitual precision of his conceptions, and his invariable practice of referring to specific facts and observations, secured him, in a great measure, both from those extravagant conjectures in which so many

naturalists have indulged, and from the zeal and enthusiasm which seems so naturally engendered in their defence.

He was by no means averse to give scope to his imagination, in suggesting a variety of explanations of obscure and unmanageable phenomena; but he never allowed himself to confound these vague and conjectural theories with the solid results of experience and observation. In his meteorological papers, and in his observations on heat and light, there is a great deal of such bold and original suggestions; but the author evidently sets little value on them; and has no sooner disburdened his mind of the impressions from which they proceeded, than he seems to dismiss them entirely from his consideration, and turns to the legitimate philosophy of experiment with unabated diligence and humility.

As an instance of this disposition, might be quoted a letter to the abbe Soulavie, on a new theory of the earth, which he proposes and dismisses, without concern or anxiety, in the course of a few sentences; though, if the idea had fallen on the brain of a European philosopher, it might have germinated into a volume of eloquence, like Buffon's, or an infinite array of paragraphs and observations, like those of Parkinson or Dr. Hutton.

All his physical papers are admirable for the clearness of the description, the felicity and familiarity of the illustrations, and the singular sagacity of the remarks with which they are interspersed. Such are the theory of whirlwinds and waterspouts, as well as the observations on the course of the winds and on cold. His paper, called Maritime Observations, is full of ingenuity and practical good sense; and the remarks on evaporation, and on the tides, most of which are contained in a series of letters to a young lady, are admirable, not merely for their perspicuity, but for the interest and amusement they are calculated to communicate to every description

of readers. The remarks on fire-places and smoky chimnies are infinitely more original, concise, and scientific, than those of count Rumford; and the observations on the gulph stream afford the first example of just theory and accurate investigation, applied to that phenomenon.

Dr. Franklin has never made use of the mathematics, in his investigation of the phenomena of nature; and though this may render it surprising that he has fallen into so few errors of importance, yet it helps in some measure to explain the unequalled perspicuity and vivacity of his expositions. An algebraist, who can work wonders with letters, seldom condescends to be much indebted to words, and thinks himself entitled to make his sentences obscure, provided his calculations be distinct. A writer who has nothing but words to make use of, must make all the use he can of them: he cannot afford to neglect the only chance he has of being understood.

His political writings first raised him into public office and eminence, but will be least read or attended to by posterity. They may be divided into two parts; those which relate to the internal affairs and provincial differences of the American colonies, before their quarrel with the mother country; and those which relate to that quarrel and its consequences. The former are no longer in any degree interesting: The longest of them was published in 1759, under the title of a Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and was composed for the purpose of showing that the political privileges reserved to the founder of the colony had been illegally and oppressively used. The Canada pamphlet, written in 1760, for the purpose of pointing out the importance of retaining that colony at the peace, is composed with great force of reason, and in a style of extraordinary perspicuity. The same may be said of what are called the Albany papers, or the plan for a general political union of the colo-

nies in 1754; and of a variety of other tracts on the provincial politics of that day.

All these are worth preserving, both as monuments of Dr. Franklin's talents and activity, and as affording, in many places, very excellent models of strong reasoning and popular eloquence: but the interest of the subjects is now completely gone by; and the few specimens of general reasoning which we meet with serve only to increase our regret, that the talents of the author should have been wasted on such perishable materials.

There is not much written on the subject of the dispute with the colonies; and most of his papers on that subject are already well known to the public. His examination before the house of commons, in 1766, affords a striking proof of the extent of his information, the clearness and force of his *extempore* composition, and the steadiness and self-possession, which enabled him to display these qualities with so much effect upon such an occasion. His letters before the commencement of hostilities are full of grief and anxiety; but, no sooner did matters come to extremities, than he appears to have assumed a certain keen and confident cheerfulness, not unmixed with a seasoning of asperity, and more vindictiveness of spirit than perhaps became a philosopher.

The letters which passed between Dr. Franklin and lord Howe, when his lordship arrived off the American coast with what were called the pacificatory proposals, in 1776, show not only the consideration in which the former was held by the noble commissioner, but contain a very striking and pathetic statement of the consequences to be dreaded from the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of compulsion.

None of Dr. Franklin's political writings, during the nine years that he resided as ambassador at the court of France, have yet been made public. Some of them must be highly interesting.

As to the merits of Franklin as a political economist, he is perfectly sound on many important and practical points; on the corn-trade, and the theory of money, for instance; and also on the more general doctrines, as to the freedom of commerce, and the principle of population. In the more elementary and abstract parts of the science, however, his views seem to have been less just and luminous. He is not very consistent or profound, in what he says of the effects of luxury; and seems to have gone headlong into the radical error of the *economistes*, when he maintains, that all that is done by manufacture is to embody the value of the manufacturer's subsistence in his work, and that agriculture is the only source from which a real increase of wealth can be derived. Another favourite position is, that all commerce is *cheating*, where a commodity, produced by a certain quantity of labour, is exchanged for another, on which more labour has been expended; and that the only *fair* price of any thing, is some other thing requiring the same exertion to bring it to market. This is evidently a very narrow and erroneous view of the nature of commerce.

The fair price to the purchaser is, whatever he deliberately chuses to give, rather than go without the commodity; it is no matter to him, whether the seller bestowed much or little labour upon it, or whether it came into his possession without any labour at all; whether it be a diamond, which he picked up, or a picture, at which they had been working for years. The commodity is not valued by the purchaser on account of the labour which is supposed to be embodied in it, but solely on account of certain qualities, which he finds convenient or agreeable; he compares the convenience and delight which he expects to derive from this object, with the convenience and delight which is afforded by the things asked in exchange for it; and if he find the former preponderate, he consents to the ex-

change, and makes a beneficial bargain. We have stated the case in the name of a purchaser, because, in barter, both parties are truly purchasers, and act on the same principles; and it is easy to show, that all commerce resolves itself ultimately into barter. There can be no unfairness in trade, except where there is concealment by the seller, either of the defects of the commodity, or of the fact that the purchaser may be supplied with it at a cheaper rate by another. It is a matter of *fact*, but not of *morality*, that the price of most commodities will be influenced by the labour employed in producing them. If they are capable of being produced in unlimited quantities, the competition of the producers will sink the price very nearly to what is necessary to maintain this labour; and the impossibility of continuing the production, without repaying that labour, will prevent it from sinking lower. The doctrine does not apply at all to cases where the materials, or the skill necessary to work them up, are scarce in proportion to the demand.

The author's speculations on the effects of paper-money seem also to be superficial and inaccurate. *Statistics* had not been carefully studied in the days of his activity; and, accordingly, we meet with a good deal of loose assumption, and sweeping calculation, in his writings. Yet he had a genius for exact observation, and complicated detail; and probably wanted nothing but leisure, to have made very great advances in this branch of economy.

As a writer on morality and general literature, the merits of Franklin cannot be estimated properly, without taking into consideration the peculiarities in his early history and situation. He never had the benefit of any academical instruction, nor of the society of men of letters; his style was formed entirely by his own judgment and occasional reading; and most of his moral pieces were written while he was a tradesman, addressing himself to the tradesmen of his native city. We

cannot expect, therefore, either that he should write with extraordinary elegance or grace; or that he should treat of the accomplishments, follies, and occupations of polite life.—He had no great occasion, as a moralist, to expose the guilt and the folly of gaming or seduction; or to point a poignant and playful ridicule against the lighter immoralities of fashionable life. To the mechanics and traders of Boston and Philadelphia, such warnings were altogether unnecessary; and he endeavoured, therefore, with more appropriate eloquence, to impress on them the importance of industry, sobriety, and economy, and to direct their wise and humble ambition to the attainment of useful knowledge and honourable independence.

That morality, after all, is certainly the most valuable, which is adapted to the circumstances of the greater part of mankind; and that eloquence is the most meritorious, that is calculated to convince and persuade the multitude to virtue.—Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object, than most of Dr. Franklin's compositions of this sort. The tone of familiarity, of good will, and homely jocularity; the plain and pointed illustrations; the short sentences, made up of short words; and the strong sense, clear information, and obvious conviction of the author himself, make most of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence; and afford the finest specimens of a style which has been but too little cultivated in a country, which numbers, perhaps, more than 100,000 readers among its tradesmen and artificers.

In writings which possess such solid and unusual merit, it is of no great consequence that the fastidious eye of a critic can discover many blemishes. There is a good deal of vulgarity in the practical writings of Franklin; and more vulgarity than was necessary for the object he had in view. There is something childish, too, in some of his attempts at pleasantry: his story of the Whis-

le, and his Parisian letter, announcing the discovery that the sun gives light as soon as he rises, are instances of this. The Soliloquy of an Ephemeris, however, is much better; and both that, and the Dialogue with the Gout, are executed with the lightness and spirit of genuine French compositions.

The Speech in the Divan of Algiers, composed as a parody on those of the defenders of the slave-trade, and the scriptural parable against persecution, are inimitable; they have all the point and facility of the fine pleasantries of Swift and Arbuthnot, with something more of directness and apparent sincerity.

The style of his letters, in general, is excellent. They are chiefly remarkable for great simplicity of language, admirable good sense and ingenuity, and an amiable and inoffensive cheerfulness, that is never overclouded or eclipsed.

There is something extremely amiable in old age, when thus exhibited, as in Franklin's letters, without querulousness, discontent, or impatience, and free, at the same time, from any affected or unbecoming levity. *There must be many more of his letters in existence, than have yet been given to the public; and, from the tone and tenor of those which already appeared, we are satisfied that they would be read with general avidity and improvement*.*

His account of his own life, down to the year 1730, has been in the hands of the public since 1790. It is written with great simplicity and liveliness, though it contains too many trifling details and anecdotes of obscure individuals. It affords a striking example of the irresistible force with which talents and industry bear upwards in society, as well as an impressive illustration of the substantial wisdom and good policy of invariable integrity and candour. It would be very useful reading for

all young persons of unsteady principle, who have their fortunes to make or to mend in the world.

On the whole, the life and writings of Dr. Franklin afford a striking illustration of the incalculable value of a sound and well directed understanding, and of the comparative uselessness of learning and laborious accomplishments. Without the slightest pretensions to the character of a scholar or a man of science, he has extended the bounds of human knowledge on a variety of subjects, which scholars and men of science had previously investigated without success; and has only been found deficient in those studies which the learned have generally turned from in disdain. Respect is due to scholarship and science; but the value of these instruments is apt to be overrated by their possessors; and it is a wholesome mortification, to show them that the work may be done without them.

For the Literary Magazine.

IDEAL MISERIES.

WHILE I acknowledge with gratitude the very great obligations we owe to divines and philosophers, for the valuable precepts they have laid down, to guard us against those vices which are followed by great calamities, and for the no less important consolation they afford us against such evils as we can neither foresee nor prevent, I regret much that they have narrowed their labours by addressing themselves to mankind in general. This may seem an extraordinary objection, but it will appear very justifiable, when we consider that the advice given to all is seldom accepted by any, and that it is individual application only which can give it effect.

These sages of ancient and modern time deserve great praise for cheering the hearts of men in the hour of anxiety, for affording consolation in distress, and for suggesting

* I wish the descendants of Dr. Franklin, in America, would take this hint.—They have treasures of this sort of which a profitable use might be made.—E.

a lively hope even on the brink of despair. But these are things in which man, *as man* only, is concerned. It is much, but it is not all; they have fallen short, in handing down no advice, no precepts, no comfort, adapted to the taste of men of fashion, women of ton, and persons of distinction; nor have they been more attentive to the distresses which befall us as members of the corporation, as chairmen of clubs, and as guests at a table.

Now these and other distresses of a like kind, though usually set down among the *little things* which are, or ought to be, beneath our attention, are really among the greatest misfortunes of life: first, because they are perpetually recurring, and add, therefore, to the general mass of unhappiness; and, secondly, because not one of those philosophers and divines, who have made the afflictions of human life their study, have condescended to say one word about them, or have mentioned them with indifference and contempt. All this appears to me very extraordinary, and to detract much from the utility of their labours.

If we will set about analyzing and decomposing our respective portions of happiness and unhappiness, we shall find that each is made up of an infinite series of *little things*. Little things, then, *being great to little men*, ought not to be beneath the attention of those who assume the chair of authority, direct our judgment, prescribe our sentiments, and regulate our hopes and fears.—These have given us admirable counsel against excessive grief for the loss of relatives, and the loss of fortune: but are these the only losses that require a healing balm? How many are every night made miserable in this metropolis by the loss of an odd trick! How many have their sensibility deeply wounded by the death of a parrot! How many are cut to the heart to reflect that the ball they missed yesterday will no more return; or that the brilliant assemblage of persons of fashion, which they were prevented from

joining, may never meet again!—Nay, with all due respect to philosophers be it spoken, is the misplacing of a cane, umbrella, or a pair of gloves, no misfortune?

Yet for these evils we have no remedy. What avails it to fortify the mind against covetousness, against ambition, against the fears of death, when amid our speculations on such abstract and distant subjects, a visit remains unreturned, or a mantua-maker has forgotten her orders? We may bear up against the pangs of despised love, and the oppressor's wrongs, but it requires no small share of philosophy to behold the china in ruins, and the canary-bird a prey to the undistinguishing ferocity of a cat. How many have we seen bury a wife, in *all the decent manliness of grief*, who have been tortured almost to madness when they beheld the meat spoiled, the butter rancid, or the pie overbaked! How many, who can submit with patience to the disorders attendant on a late period of life, are mere children in philosophy, should they come late into the theatre, their favourite song past, and their places taken.

He, therefore, who would prescribe for such calamities, would be a general benefactor. It would require, however, that he should not merely possess the austerity of an ancient philosopher; that he should be able to harangue like Socrates, or epistolize like Seneca; he should be a man of the world, and apply his remedies where the disorder was contracted.

In my last excursion to the watering places, I had many melancholy instances of the great need the visitors of those places stand in for such a philosopher. Of what avail would it be to preach there about the common and vulgar asperities of human life, and omit the more important and trying circumstances of a cruel rain, a perverse raffle, and a morbid *ennui*? to have a party of pleasure broke up just as the set is made up; to be within one of the lucky number; and to be tormented,

perhaps for a day, with *dont-know-howishness*? these, indeed, are calamities; they wring the heart, they put the temper to a severe trial, spoil the appetite, cover the countenance with a deadly pale, and drive sleep from the eyes, and slumber from the eye-lids. Must they not, therefore, be greatly aggravated, when no assistance is at hand, no soothing consolation nigh, nor friend to sympathize, no kindred bosom to share the grief with?

Such are a few of the calamities of human life, for which I can find no sources of consolation among divines and philosophers. Whether they thought such matters too much above, or too much beneath their concern, I know not; but certain it is, all our *solamina miseri* are very deficient in such important matters.

I have already hinted that the frequency of these calamities renders aid more necessary than all our other systems of philosophy. A man cannot lose above two or three affectionate wives in his whole life; but he may lose a good dinner every week; and a lady may weep over the grave of twenty lap-dogs, before she has an opportunity to pay the last duties of friendship to a much-lamented husband.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF SPANISH AMERICA.

WOULD the emancipation of the Spanish colonies be favourable to their future progress and improvement? Would it enable them to redress the grievances under which they at present labour? If assisted to acquire, are they strong enough to maintain, their independence? The interest excited at this moment by the expedition of Miranda, seems to call for some observations on these topics.

The greatest defect in the Spanish colonial government consists in its

governing too much; in its being too officious, too intermeddling, too complicated, and too expensive; in its being calculated, not to favour the growth, and protect the progress of an infant colony, but to harass and torment, with unavailing remedies, the last moments of a state sinking under weakness and decrepitude.

A numberless host of dependants is kept up, to maintain the colonies in subjection. Checks on the abuse of power are multiplied, till authority clashes with authority, and the people are oppressed without being protected. The same form of government is spread over every part of America, and the same institutions established in the most retired village, which have been found useful or necessary in the seats of government and commerce.

The magistrates and retainers of justice are as numerous and as active in a country, where every man has plenty with his reach, as they are in Europe, where an immense population is struggling for subsistence in the midst of its own vices. A devout and well-intentioned government exerts more vigilance about the morals and faith of its subjects in the wilds of America, than it employs vigour at home in the defence of their lives, properties, and independence.

The expence of the colonial government, though unnecessarily great, is compensated, in part, by the salaries of its servants being consumed in the places where they are received. But more than eight millions of dollars are withdrawn from the annual income of the colonies to replenish the royal treasury of Madrid, from which no part of it ever returns. The taxes and fiscal regulations, by which this revenue is drawn from the people, are singularly injudicious and vexatious. Agriculture is discouraged by the exaction of tithes; commerce harassed by the collection of alcavallas; and the people chafed and fretted by monopolies. But the least exceptionable taxes in the Spanish colonies are those which have no

other object but to raise money. The Spanish government is one of those which conceives it to be its chief duty to promote the industry of its subjects, and to direct them in the right path to opulence, and to these ends its fixed regulations are made subservient. The colonies are sacrificed, as usual, to the mother country; and their heaviest tax is the tribute which they are compelled to pay to the laziness, ignorance, and unskilfulness of Spanish workmen and manufacturers. With the same well-meaning views, one colony, one province, or one city, is continually sacrificed to some other; and an order often arrives unexpectedly from Madrid, which suspends the most flourishing trade, and condemns a whole province to idleness and want.

If there are abuses which would be corrected by a government resident in America, and acquainted with its local necessities, the Spanish colonies cannot but gain by emancipation. Nor are the same evils and disorders to be apprehended in Spanish America from a change of government, which would follow any disturbances in the West India islands, or such as befel the unfortunate colony of St. Domingo. The natural aristocracy of the Spanish colonies resides in the country, and consists of men born and educated in the midst of their inferiors and dependants. The people of colour are sober and religious. The African negroes are few in number; and the blacks born in the colonies are reconciled to their situation, and accustomed to the same easy and indolent life with their masters. The Indians are the least of all to be feared. The form of government best suited to a people like the Spanish Americans, is monarchy; and if the monarch presented to them were of the royal family of Spain, or nearly related to it, they would probably submit to him without reluctance.

Some of these colonies are capable, even in their present state, of forming great and powerful empires.

Mexico alone contains more than four millions of inhabitants. Peru, including Potosi and Quito, contains as many. The provinces watered by the Orinoco are less populous, and less able to maintain their independence without the protection of some foreign state; but such is the fertility of those regions, and so admirably are they situated for commerce, that if emancipated from the mother country, they would advance with the rapidity of the United States. With their present means and resources, they are infinitely less able to maintain an independent government, than the populous and opulent regions of Mexico and Peru.

For the Literary Magazine.

ANECDOTE.

IMBECILE minds are apt to protect themselves under the mask of humble hesitation. When a candidate for a degree at a British university was asked whether the sun moved round the earth, or the earth round the sun, he, after some delay and embarrassment, replied, "Sometimes the one, and sometimes the other."

For the Literary Magazine.

SOUTH AMERICAN MODE OF BLEEDING.

THEY perform the operation in a very dexterous manner; not with a lancet, as our surgeons do, but with an Indian instrument very curiously made. It is a small and remarkable sharp flint, ground to an almost imperceptible point, and set in a small bit of ebony or cedar, in much the same manner as our glaziers' diamonds; with this difference, as theirs is placed perpendi-

cularly in the wood, so this is set horizontally, with as much of the flint projecting as is sufficient to make the incision. The arm is bound up as with us; the instrument is then laid on the vein, and struck with a kind of small hammer; the blood flows copiously: and so skillful are the Indian surgeons, that the patient runs no hazard of having the artery injured by this peculiar mode of bleeding.

In that part of the world, the priests are the only Europeans who profess any skill in medicine; and this knowledge is chiefly limited to the properties of a great variety of simples, which, in the hands of an able botanist, are found to counteract the noxious qualities of the waters of the Plata.

For the Literary Magazine.

AVARICE: AN EXAMPLE.

THE following narrative contains a curious and amusing instance of the misdirection of human passions.

There lately died in England, of a broken heart, Mr. Farmer, well known as a retailer of newspapers. He had acquired, by extraordinary industry, parsimony, and methods, peculiar to himself, a sum amounting to 9000*l*. His manners and external appearance indicated extreme poverty; his plaintive stories very often excited pity, and induced many to act with tenderness towards him. An old man, a news-dealer, being much afflicted with disorders incident to advanced age, wished to dispose of his business; the sum demanded for it was 50*l*. Mr. F. seemed inclined to purchase, but could not think of advancing so large a sum as 50*l*. at one time, but supposing the old man could not live long, agreed to allow him 27*s*. per week during his natural life. These terms were agreed to; the old man retired into the country, recovered his health, returned to London, exhibited his person before Mr. Farmer,

which operated on him so powerfully, that his thoughts were engrossed with it; he gradually declined in health, his spirits became depressed, *sharp misery seemed to have worn him to the bone*; and, at last, distressed to part with the *darling object of his soul*, in a flood of tears he retired to his garret, and in a few hours expired.

**For the Literary Magazine.*

TRAVELLING MEMORANDUMS,
MADE IN 1789, 1790.

French Inns.

FRENCH inns are in general better in two respects, and worse in all the rest, than those in England or America. We live better in point of eating and drinking, beyond a question, than we should do in going from London to Edinburgh, or from Baltimore to Boston, at double the expence. But if in England the best of every thing is ordered, without any attention to the expence, we should, for double the money, live better than we do in France; the common cookery of the French gives great advantage. It is true they roast every thing to a chip, if you are not cautious: but they give such a number and variety of dishes, that if you do not like some, there are others to please your palate. The dessert at a French inn has no rival at an English one; nor are the liquors to be despised. We sometimes meet with bad wine, but, on the whole, far better than such port and Madeira as English and American inns give. Beds are better in France; in England they are good only at good inns; and we have none of that torment, which is so perplexing in England, to have the sheets aired; for here, as in America, we never trouble our heads about them, doubtless on account of the climate. After these two points, all is a blank. You have no parlour to eat in; only a room with two, three, or four

beds. Apartments badly fitted up; the walls white-washed; or paper of different sorts in the same room; or tapestry so old, as to be a fit nidus for moths and spiders; and the furniture such, that one of our inn-keepers would light his fire with it. For a table, you have every where a board laid on cross bars, which are so conveniently contrived, as to leave room for your legs only at the end. Oak chairs with rush bottoms, and the back universally a direct perpendicular, that defies all attempt at rest after fatigue. Doors give music as well as entrance; the wind whistles through their chinks; and hinges grate discord. Windows admit rain as well as light; when shut they are not easy to open; and when open not easy to shut. Mops, brooms, and scrubbing brushes are not in the catalogue of the necessities of a French inn. Bells there are none; the *fille* must always be bawled for; and, when she appears, is neither neat, well dressed, nor handsome. The kitchen is black with smoke; the master commonly the cook, and the less you see of the cooking, the more likely you are to have a stomach to your dinner; but this is not peculiar to France. Copper utensils always in great plenty, but not always well tinned. The mistress rarely classes civility or attention to her guests among the requisites of her trade.

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French Companionship and Conversation.

As to the conversation of French assemblies, I am inclined to praise them for equanimity, but condemn them for insipidity. All vigour of thought seems so excluded from expression, that characters of ability and of inanity meet nearly on a par: tame and elegant, uninteresting and polite, the mingled mass of communicated ideas has powers neither to offend nor instruct; where there is much polish of character there is little argument; and if you neither

argue nor discuss, what is conversation? Good temper, and habitual ease, are the first ingredients in private society; but wit, knowledge, or originality, must break their even surface into some inequality of feeling, or conversation is like a journey on an endless flat.

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French Ordinaries.

At Nismes I dined and supped at the table d'hôte: the cheapness of these tables suits one's finances, and one sees something of the manners of the people: we sat down from twenty to forty at every meal, most motley companies of French, Italians, Spaniards, with a Greek and Armenian; and I was informed, that there is hardly a nation in Europe or Asia, that have not merchants at the great fair of Beaucaire, chiefly for raw silk, of which many millions in value are sold in four days: all the other commodities of the world are to be found there.

One circumstance I must remark on this numerous table d'hôte, because it has struck me repeatedly, which is the *taciturnity* of the French. I came here expecting to have my ears constantly fatigued with the infinite volubility and spirits of the people, of which so many persons have written, sitting, I suppose by their own fire-sides. At Montpellier, though fifteen persons, and some of them ladies, were present, I found it impossible to make them break their inflexible silence with more than a monosyllable, and the whole company sat more like an assembly of tongue-tied quakers, than the mixed company of a people famous for loquacity. Here also, at Nismes, with a different party at every meal, it is the same thing; no Frenchman will open his mouth. To-day at dinner, hopeless of that nation, and fearing to lose the use of an organ they had so little inclination to employ, I fixed myself by a Spaniard, and having been so lately in his country, I found him ready to

converse, and tolerably communicative; but we had more conversation than thirty other persons maintained among themselves.

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French Theatres.

The theatre at Bourdeaux, built in 1780, is by far the most magnificent in France. I have seen nothing that approaches it. The building is insulated, and fills up a space of 306 feet by 165, one end being the principal front, containing a portico the whole length of it, of twelve very large Corinthian columns. The entrance from this portico is by a noble vestibule, which leads, not only to the different parts of the theatre, but also to an elegant oval concert-room and saloons for walking and refreshments. The theatre itself is of a vast size; in shape the segment of an oval. The establishment of actors, actresses, singers, dancers, orchestra, &c. speak the wealth and luxury of the place. I have been assured, that from thirty to fifty louis a night have been paid to a favourite actress from Paris. Larrive, the first tragic actor of that capital, is now here, at 500 livres (100 dollars) a night, with two benefits. Dauberval, the dancer, and his wife, the mademoiselle Theodore of London, are retained as principal ballet-master and first female dancer, at a salary of 28,000 livres (near 6000 dollars). Pieces are performed every night, Sundays not excepted, as every where in France.

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Nobles' Estates.

Much of the wastes between Bourdeaux and Barbesieux belonged to the prince de Soubise, who would not sell any part of them. Thus it is whenever you stumble on a grand seigneur, even one that was worth millions, you are sure to find his property desert. The duke of Bouillon's and this prince's are two of the greatest properties in France;

and all the signs I have yet seen of their greatness, are wastes, *landes*, deserts, fern, ling. Go to their residence, wherever it may be, and you would probably find them in the midst of a forest, very well peopled with deer, wild boars, and wolves, with a domestic establishment of a hundred servants, two hundred dogs, and five hundred horses. This was literally the establishment at Chantille before the prince became a beggar.

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Environs of Paris.

Enter Paris where you will, you are confirmed in the idea that the roads immediately leading to that capital are deserts, comparatively speaking with those of London. By what means can the connection be carried on with the country? The French must be the most stationary people upon earth; when in a place, they must rest without a thought of going to another: or the English must be the most restless; and find more pleasure in moving from one place to another, than in resting to enjoy life in either. If the French nobility went to their country seats only when exiled there by the court, the roads could not be more solitary.

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Bas Bretons.

I have had an opportunity of seeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dress in great trowsers like breeches, many with naked legs, and most with wooden shoes, strong marked features like the Welch, with countenances a mixture of half energy and half laziness; their persons stout, broad, and square. The women furrowed without age by labour, to the utter extinction of all softness of sex. The eye discovers them at first glance to be a people absolutely distinct from the French. Wonderful that they should be found so, with distinct language,

manners, dress, &c., after having been settled here 1300 years !

Theatre at Nantz.

The theatre at Nantz is new built of fine white stone, and has a magnificent portico front of eight elegant Corinthian pillars, and four others within, to part the portico from a grand vestibule. Within, all is gold and painting, and a *coup d'œil* at entering, that struck me forcibly. It is, I believe, twice as large as Drury Lane, and five times as magnificent. It was Sunday, and therefore full. *Mon Dieu !* cried I to myself, do all the wastes, the deserts, the heath, ling, furze, broom, and bog, that I have passed for 300 miles, lead to this spectacle ? What a miracle, that all this splendour and wealth of the cities in France should be so unconnected with the country ? There are no gentle transitions from ease to comfort, from comfort to wealth : you pass at once from beggary to profusion ; from misery in mud cabins to mademoiselle St. Huberti, in splendid spectacles at 500 livres a night (100 dollars). The country deserted, or if a gentleman in it, you find him in some wretched hole, to save that money which is lavished with profusion in the luxuries of a capital.

French Politeness.

Among my letters was one to monsieur de la Livioniere, perpetual secretary of the Society of Agriculture here. I found he was at his country-seat, two leagues from Anjou, at Mignianne. On my arrival at his seat, he was sitting down to dinner with his family ; not being past twelve, I thought to have escaped this awkwardness ; but both himself and madame prevented all embarrassment by very unaffectedly desiring me to partake with them, and making not the least derangement either in table or looks, placed me at once at my ease, to an indifferent dinner, garnished with so

much ease and cheerfulness, that I found it a repast more to my taste than the most splendid tables could afford. An English family in the country, similar in situation, taken unawares in the same way, would receive you with an unquiet hospitality, and an anxious politeness ; and, after waiting for a hurry-scurry derangement of cloth, table, plates, sideboard, pot, and spit, would give you perhaps so good a dinner, that none of the family, between anxiety and fatigue, could supply one word of conversation, and you would depart under cordial wishes that you might never return. This folly, so common in England, is never met with in France : the French are quiet in their houses, and do things without effort.

France and Great Britain compared.

France is superior to England in soil. The proportion of poor land in England, to the total of the kingdom, is greater than the similar proportion in France ; nor have they any where such tracts of wretched blowing sand as are to be met with in Norfolk and Suffolk. Their heaths, moors, and wastes not mountainous, what they term *lande*, and which are so frequent in Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, are infinitely better than the English northern moors ; and the mountains of Scotland and Wales cannot be compared, in point of soil, with those of the Pyrenees, Auvergne, Dauphine, Provence, and Languedoc. Another advantage almost inestimable is, that their tenacious loams do not take the character of clays, which in some parts of England are so stubborn and harsh, that the expence of culture is almost equal to a moderate produce. Such clays as are in Sussex, I never met with in France. The smallness of the quantity of rank clay in the latter country is indeed surprising.

Which, relatively to agriculture, is the best climate, that of France,

or that of England? The preference is due to France. I have often heard the contrary asserted, and with some appearance of reason; but, I believe, the opinion has arisen more from considering the actual state of husbandry in the two countries, than the distinct properties of the two climates. The English make a very good use of their's; but the French are, in this respect, in their infancy, through more than half the kingdom.

The importance of a country producing twenty-five bushels per acre instead of eighteen, is prodigious; but it is an idle deception to speak of twenty-five, for the superiority of English spring corn, barley and oats, is doubly greater than that of wheat and rye, and would justify me in proportioning the corn products of England, in general, compared with those of France, at twenty-eight to eighteen; and I am well persuaded, that such a ratio would be no exaggeration. Ten millions of acres produce more corn than fifteen millions; consequently a territory of one hundred millions of acres more than equals another of one hundred and fifty millions. It is from such facts that we must seek for an explanation of the power of England, which has ventured to measure itself with that of a country so much more populous, extensive, and more favoured by nature, as France really is; and it is a lesson to all governments whatever, that if they would be powerful, they must encourage the only real and permanent basis of power, AGRICULTURE. By enlarging the quantity of the products of land in a nation, all those advantages flow which have been attributed to a great population, but which ought, with much more truth, to have been assigned to a great consumption; since it is not the mere number of people, but their ease and welfare, which constitute national prosperity. The difference between the corn products of France and England is so great, that it would justify some degree of surprise, how any political writer could ever express any

degree of amazement, that a territory, naturally so inconsiderable as the British isles, on comparison with France, should ever become equally powerful; yet this sentiment, founded in mere ignorance, is very common. With such an immense superiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious surprise should have been, that the resources of England, compared with those of France, were not yet more decisive.

French Irrigation.

In Languedoc we find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation to be seen in France; a solid stank of timber and masonry is formed across a considerable river near Gange, between two rocky mountains, to force the water into a very fine canal, in which it is, on an average, six feet broad by five deep, and half a mile long; built rather than dug, on the side of the mountain just under the road, and walled in like a shelf, a truly great work, equally well imagined and executed! A wheel raises a portion of the water from this canal thirty feet, by its hollow periphery. An aqueduct, built that height, on two tiers of arches, receives the water, and conducts it on arches built on the bridge, across the river, to water the higher grounds; while the canal below carries the larger part of the water to lower fields: an undertaking which must have cost considerable sums, and shows the prodigious value of water in such a climate.

In some parts of France, particularly in the southern provinces, this branch of rural economy is very well understood, and largely practised; but the most capital exertions are very much confined; I met with them only in Provence and the western mountainous parts of Languedoc. In the former, canals were cut, at the expence of the province, for conducting water many miles, in order to irrigate barren tracts of land: in England we have no idea of such a thing. The interests of commerce

will induce our legislature to cut through private properties, but never the interests of cultivation. The works I observed at Gange, in Languedoc, for throwing the water of a mountain stream into a canal, and raising it by enormous wheels into aqueducts built on arches, being much more limited in extent, and even confined to single properties, might more reasonably be looked for in the mountainous districts of England and Wales. Such would answer greatly, and therefore ought to be undertaken; for I hardly need observe, that watering in northwardly climates answers on most soils, as well as it does in the south of Europe.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE FRENCH IN HANOVER.

THE following account of the sufferings of the Hanoverians, during the late occupation of their country by the French, appears to have been drawn up by one of the inhabitants, and has been published as such, in a British publication. It is interesting in itself, as containing a minute and circumstantial picture of the evils of war. It shows us how much misery may be inflicted by a conqueror who neither massacres nor plunders, and warns us of the destiny that will inevitably await us, if we are visited by an army of foreign invaders.

The army which Bonaparte had so warily collected at Nimmegen, under pretence of sending it to Louisiana, was destined for Hanover.—Judging from the previous inactivity of the British ministers, they had no suspicions of the views of the French till their army actually made its appearance, and then, as if they had awoke from a dream, they started up and seized the sword, with a desperate resolution of defence. But in the moment of danger the confidence of the country was not to be obtained, and its required spirit of

union was dissipated into considerations of personal safety. A levy *en masse* was decreed, which compelled the young men to emigrate; and the army, nominally 30,000, in reality was only 18,000. A slight skirmish near Suhlingen, betwixt the outposts, served to decide the fate of Hanover. The farce of a convention, concluded the 3d of June, 1803, surrendered it to the French, and stipulated that the unbroken Hanoverian army should withdraw beyond the Elbe into Lauenburg, and not serve against France until they had been exchanged.

Rudloff was then at the head of affairs, and his well-known character puts it out of doubt, that, in conjunction with some of his colleagues, he acted a treacherous part towards his country, in favour of the enemy. If the French had not received a previous assurance of being admitted without opposition, they never would have ventured through marshes and bogs, without ammunition, or with scarcely a single cartridge, to invade a country that had a regular and respectable force to produce against inferior numbers. However rash and fool-hardy the French may be, they would not thus have devoted themselves to certain ruin, when with the same facility they could have sent a force sufficient to ensure success.

In possession of Hanover, they no sooner learned that the king refused to ratify the measures of his German ministry, than they proceeded, with newly acquired arms, against the force in Lauenburg. The spirit of the Hanoverian soldiery, who were fired with an ardent zeal to engage the enemies of their country, was such as led every one to expect a bloody conflict: but count Walmoden put their lives and his out of danger, by a second capitulation, no less disgraceful than the former. According to this convention, signed on the Elbe, on the 5th of July, against the unanimous opinion of the whole army, the Hanoverian troops were disbanded, and obliged to lay down their arms.

The number was very small who were afterwards impelled, by distress and want of employment, to enter into the French service. After every endeavour to seduce them, Mortier could not get together more than 3000, the half of whom were not natives; and not deeming it prudent to keep them in Hanover, they were sent to the south of France.

The terrors of the people pictured every possible act of violence from the invading foe; and the liberty granted to the French troops of plundering two or three villages, naturally served to confirm these apprehensions, and occasioned many groundless reports; but in a short time every one was convinced that the French had laid down for themselves a very different system of conduct. Policy, in fact, suggested to them conciliatory measures; and as plunder was their object, they clearly saw, that by granting the people existence, they should the most effectually drain the country of its resources, and reap the fruits of its labours.

Agreeably to this idea, Mortier had specified as distinct articles in the convention, that the Hanoverian ministry should be dissolved, and such changes adopted in the electoral constitution, as he might think advisable; yet, when he came to organize the government, he reinstated most of the old administration in high places, excluding only Rudloff, Von Arnswaldt, and Kielmannsegge, who, after having deserted their trust, fled into Mecklenburg.

The form of government adopted by the French was purely financial, it being, of course, their sole concern to extract from the country as much as possible during their stay in it. To this end, they established an executive committee, whose task it was to arrange and levy the contributions, and satisfy all the pecuniary demands of France. Durbach, Mortier's brother-in-law, whose familiarity with the German language, and extensive acquaintance among the Germans, fitted him for the office,

was commissioned to select this committee, and he accordingly fixed on five persons for his assistants.

Nor could he have chosen men more fitted to execute the office imposed on them. They consulted the good of the country on every occasion, averted many evils, and made many remonstrances against the extravagant demands of the French.

This committee was assisted by a deputation of persons well versed in the peculiar resources, connections, and circumstances of the respective districts to which they belonged, whose advice was necessary in appreciating the wealth of each individual district, and proportioning the burden of taxes to its real condition. Their sphere of action was no less important than that of the committee, and they acquitted themselves with no less credit. They ingratiated themselves with the commissioners, and succeeded in obtaining their confidence by an upright system of conduct, in which they never lost sight of the interests of their country.

While their pecuniary demands were satisfied to the utmost of their expectation, the French did not trouble themselves with any other consideration; but whenever there was any failure or backwardness in the supplies, they would threaten the ministry with taking the management of the finances into their own hands. They would not have abstained from putting this threat in force, if they had not, in reality, taken measures to convince themselves that all was done in the power of men to do. It was truly astonishing to see with what indefatigable activity they scrutinized the revenues of the state, and defeated every possible scheme of deception. They demanded of all the ministers and boards of every province, exact statements of its income and expenses, royal, civil, and military, and instituted the minutest inquiries into the accuracy of such statements. The first authorities of the land were likewise required to deliver in exact statistic accounts of the whole elec-

tōrate, and of each particular province; and these accounts, containing every thing worthy of notice relative to the internal wealth and resources of the country, when copied fair on fine royal paper, and in a fine hand, were dispatched to Paris.

The consequence of this vigilance was the ruin of Hanover. The first five months had drained it of every dollar to be found in it. What the country wanted in ready money it was obliged to supply by its credit: and while loads of specie were conveying to France, its public treasury was overwhelmed with debt, and its inhabitants starving. Though a due estimate can never be made of the burdens individually, yet the following statement will serve to prove that the French are merciless when plunder is in question. The public regular expences are calculated to have been—

1. The pay of the troops, amounting, on an average, to 25,000, which may be estimated at two millions and a half rix-dollars yearly*.

2. Bread, meat, forage, wood, and in some cases rice and beer, two millions a year.

3. Clothing, viz.: coats, linen, shoes, breeches, waistcoats, spatter-dashes, caps, stockings, knapsacks, great coats, &c., which amounted to above half a million: for there was a constant exchange of soldiers, in want of every article of dress, for such as had been well provided.

Besides these, the country had to bear a number of extraordinary expences, the principal of which were:

4. The erection of hospitals, for which purpose private houses were fitted up, and furnished with a vast number of beds, matrasses, linen, &c.; the sick being likewise daily provided with victuals, drink, and medicines; all which combined to make a sum of 200,000 dollars.

5. The constant use of carriages from Hanover to France, and from one part of the country to the other; which cannot be estimated at less

than half a million. The French had an immense number of carts, horses, and men in requisition during their whole stay, particularly for the conveyance of the booty.

The transportation of the artillery taken from the armory of Hanover, and the fortresses of Hamel, Ratzburg, &c., employed above half a year; and the value of the whole ordnance, including all the beautiful fire-arms, field-pieces, &c., laid up in store, from the famous founderies of Hanover, and the manufactories of Harzburg, was rated at ten millions. The French had likewise now the gratification of recovering a set of cannon denominated the Twelve Apostles, which they had lost in the seven years' war. As these cannon were passing through a village where an old general lived who had been present in the battle when they were taken, he is said to have shed tears, and soon after to have died of grief.

Besides the ordnance, the beautiful horses from the king's stud, the fine deer in Diesterwald, carried in expensive waggons built for the purpose, and many other royal effects, all exceeding two millions in value, occupied a full year in their conveyance.

6. The maintenance of, and presents to, generals, exceeding 200,000 dollars. All generals, particularly those of the higher ranks, had numerous retinues, consisting of twelve, and oftener of more persons. They resided in the capitals of Luneburg, Verden, Lauenburg, Osnaburg, &c. Upon an average, they received for themselves and their retinue fifty dollars per day. Besides these, the *commissaires en chef* were to be provided for; thus, for example, in Osnaburg, Dessolles received for his general staff, and commissariate, seventy-five dollars per day, whence may be easily inferred the amount of maintaining the commander in chief in the town of Hanover, his general staff, and retinue, with the *commissaire ordonnateur*. He occupied the electoral palace, and had every accommodation on a more

* A rix-dollar is about equal to the Spanish or United States dollar.

princely style than the elector himself would have had.

7. Several millions expended in casualties; among which may be reckoned the supply of quarters for the officers or soldiers who could not be provided for in certain places; the maintenance of artillery horses, and an army post with three horses; the erection of batteries on the Elbe; the raising and equipping of the Hanoverian legion; the fortification of Hamel and Nienburg, and victualling the former fortress for a whole year; the single contributions on particular provinces, supposed best capable of bearing the burden, with numberless other *et ceteras*.

8. The French gained likewise 100,000 dollars from the electorate by a financial scheme with count Bentheim, which originated in the following circumstance: count Frederick Charles Philip von Bentheim, being deeply involved in debt, mortgaged his country, in 1753, for thirty years, with all its appurtenances, to the electorate of Hanover, for the sum of 900,000 dollars. The count afterwards lived as a private man in Paris, and had neither money nor inclination to redeem his estate, in consequence of which it remained the rightful possession of Hanover. On his death, which happened in the year 1803, his next relative, the count von Stenfurth, profited by this opportunity to recover the land, on paying the French half the sum in ready money, and the rest by instalments. The French troops then left the county of Bentheim, and he was reinstated in the quiet possession of it.

From the preceeding statement, it will be seen that the French actually drew from Hanover, during a stay of two years and ten weeks, no less than twenty-seven millions of dollars, a sum grievously felt by a land enjoying few advantages, having no manufactures or trade of any importance, and scarcely producing sufficient corn for its own people.—The whole electorate yields not more than five millions of dollars, all of

which was employed in supporting the military and public establishments. No important retrenchments could be made in these expences, without bringing ruin on the country. Of course, there remained but very little from the ordinary revenues for the French, who were therefore to be supplied by extraordinary loans and taxes.

The voluntary contributions afforded by patriotic individuals were very frequent and considerable; every rich man in the towns and provinces, particularly in the principality of Osnaburg, advanced from time to time, in the form of a loan, as much as his circumstances would admit. But notwithstanding this, and the heavy burdens imposed on the people, they were still obliged to have recourse to foreign succour. In the first instance, Hamburgh, Lubec, and Bremen, the elector of Hesse Cassel, and Hahn, the rich banker of that place, freely afforded assistance, by the following loans:

	<i>Dollars.</i>
The elector of Hesse Cassel	500,000
Hahn, the banker	75,000
Hamburgh	700,000
Lubec, first loan	160,000
second loan	50,000
Bremen	625,000
Total	2,110,000

which were all made in the first year; but upon the declaration of the king, that he would not acknowledge any of these loans, it was necessary to use threats, and even coercion, in order to extract money from the smaller states. Hamburgh submitted on the first demand, by paying 500,000 dollars: but Bremen and Lubec persisted in a long and obstinate refusal, till the French blocked them up, by land and water, so effectually, that no person or thing could get in or out either of the cities or territories. Bremen yielded, after a week's resistance, by complying with half the demand, and receiving a promise of never being troubled with a similar

requisition; but Lubec stood out a fortnight, and was finally released on granting only a part of the contribution. In fine, Bremen paid 250,000, and Lubec 160,000 dollars.

But the burdens of the Hanoverians, oppressive as they were on the public at large, were not confined to exorbitant taxes collected every week or month. Each individual had his peculiar burdens, which fell with unequal weight on his own particular family. The first and greatest of these was the quartering of the soldiers; from which, in the beginning, no occupier of a house, however poor, was exempt, while the richer classes were obliged to take in, and liberally provide for, six and even eight men at a time.

It is true the soldiers were to be provided with bread, meat, &c. at the public cost; yet had this been regularly attended to, which was by no means the case, it would have served but little in the place of better food. No Hanoverian would have ventured to place a dish from the public supply only before his French epicure, who insisted on sharing with him in every delicacy of his own table. According to a moderate computation, the board of every soldier cost thirty *grotes* (30 cents) a day, that of a captain and subaltern from three to four hundred dollars a year, and that of a superior officer five or ten times that sum.

Another burden, no less oppressive than the former, was the marching of troops backward and forward, with numberless waggons and heir drivers. This concourse of men and horses naturally crowded the small number of houses by the way in a disproportionate manner, and, from the constant exchange of regiments passing and repassing, the evil rose to an insupportable degree. Osnaburg, as a frontier province between Hanover and Holland, suffered the most seriously from this grievance.

To escape the burden of quartering, many inhabitants sold their houses, and lived in lodgings; which

proved, however, but a small relief, as the tax instead of quartering was raised accordingly, no class being exempted from the general calamity. All towns and villages were therefore occupied by troops, except Gottingen, on account of its university, and Th  Harz, on account of its poverty; but the French, disliking the waste and cheerless flats of Westphalia, and other parts, flocked as much as possible to the larger places, which of course endured the severest hardships, from being occupied by the greater number of soldiers.

The remoter parts of the country were, however, not without their share of distress. Contributions in kind were introduced in lieu of those in money. Every peasant was obliged to furnish the magazines with corn and forage; the proportion of his supplies being regulated by the extent of his land. The provision was then duly rated, and the peasant received for the value bonds at five per cent. And, however good the interest might be, the poor peasant was thus deprived of corn, hay, and money, the want of which he could not replace except at a treble cost.

Besides, the peasants were obliged, in their turn, to furnish their quota of waggons, horses, and carters, in part for the endless conveyances before-mentioned. Without calculating the wear and tear, consider only the loss of time and the interruption of his farming business; especially when, in addition to extraordinary calls, he was liable to be taken from his work in any season, and compelled to drive a few French officers to a ball.

Had the soldiery, who are generally liberal with their money, been allowed to spend their pay in the country, the poor inhabitants would have experienced some benefit; but the government of France took the most effectual measures to prevent this, by keeping back their pay eight or ten months, and, in fact, till they had passed the Hanoverian frontiers. Besides, the French com-

missaries and generals, who amassed the greatest sums, sent all they could spare to France, by which Hanover was, in fact, drained of all its wealth.

The effects of these measures were too quickly visible. Men of property were obliged to consume their capitals, and those in inferior circumstances to borrow at extravagant interest, as long as money was to be borrowed at any rate; but this resource at length failing to numbers who could not give ample security, they had no alternative but beggary or emigration.

Every one retrenched his expenses, which was only an aggravation of the universal misery. Those who had lived by the luxuries of the great experienced first the hardships of poverty, from the want of employment and increase of expenses. Of course, those towns in which luxury was most prevalent were the first victims of the extortions of the enemy; but the evil at length reached every class, from the lowest to the highest. Yet perhaps, of this latter class, none were more to be pitied than the civil officers of the state; who, accustomed, from their rank and education, to a commodious way of living, were exposed to greater sacrifices than other people in lower conditions. A cruel retrenchment was made in their salaries, and the remaining allowances were irregularly paid, and frequently altogether neglected. Redress, in such cases, was chimerical, for lawsuits would only have increased the evil. Those, therefore, who could not emigrate to England, Russia, or some other place, were compelled to submit to their misfortunes.

In consequence of the glaring distress, frequent petitions were addressed to Bonaparte for relief from part of the burden; to which he answered, in his usual cant, "*I do not wish the Hanoverian people to be ruined; and I wish the French name to be honoured among them.*" And on another occasion he declared, "he would do whatever he could to spare the land, the situation of

which he sincerely lamented." But, notwithstanding these assurances, it was not till the end of 1803 that any diminution took place in the number of troops stationed in Hanover, when seven of the thirty thousand were ordered to France; and another removal took place in the summer of 1805, leaving 20,000 in the country, which were finally reduced to 5000 when the late unfortunate contest demanded their services in another part of Germany.

Barbou remained in Hanover with this small body of French, till the approach of the Prussians rendered it necessary for them to retire to Hamel. Previous to his departure, he tried to extort from the government another million of dollars, by declaring, that in case of refusal he would set fire to the town; but while the ministers were deliberating about their answer, the Prussians made such hasty advances, as rendered it necessary for the French to march without delay. As soon as they reached Hamel, they laid waste the suburbs, by destroying the gardens, and pulling down the houses, the wood of which they converted into firing. In the fortress itself they took possession of every thing they wanted for their own use, turning the poor people out of their beds or the cottages, as they found occasion for either. Even the graves of the dead were not exempt from plunder, and they took up several coffins for the sake of the wood and the nails. From one of them, which they were informed contained the remains of an Englishman, they tore out the body, and threw it into the streets, treating it with every indignity. In the neighbourhood round Hamel they laid the people under contributions, perpetually carrying away their provender and cattle by force.

It was the fate of Hanover to suffer every way by its accidental connection with England. The mischief intended to the English trade, by the blockade of the Elbe and Weser, fell ultimately upon them, and the two cities of Hamburgh and Bremen.

Their transit trade on the Elbe was thus almost totally ruined.

The little province of Osnaburg, whose principal occupation and subsistence lay in the manufacture and exportation of linen, which it sent to Spain and America, received a check from the stoppage of the regular navigation. The produce of this trade to the province, in which almost every peasant had his loom, was above a million of dollars yearly before the blockade. Though the navigation to Hamburgh was kept up in part by the way of Tonnigen, and that to Bremen by the Jahde, yet the delays, losses, and charges arising from this circuitous mode of conveyance were very injurious to the merchant: not to mention that every article passing through Hanover was obliged to have a certificate to specify that it had not paid English customs, which was another circumstance that enhanced the price of all commodities to the purchaser.

Meantime England was carrying on an unmolested trade, by the river Ems, in Emden, Leer, Meppen, and other places. The French attempted, indeed, to molest the progress of English goods from Meppen to Frankfort, and other parts of Germany, and profited by the supposed arrival of some fire-arms on English account, to occupy the town with soldiers. The fire-arms were, of course, not discovered; but, for the *prevention* of such an importation, they thought proper to continue there till the king of Prussia, who was then not so complaisant to the French as he afterwards was, positively insisted on the perfect freedom of the Ems navigation, and on the evacuation of Meppen.

The French generals who had the command in Hanover were men of as good character, and of as much humanity, as could be expected from persons in the service of Bonaparte. They kept the strictest discipline in the army to prevent every irregularity, and softened the rigour of the commands they were obliged to issue as much as lay in their power.

Mortier being recalled at the end of five months, in consequence of his elevation to the rank of marshal, Dessolles supplied his place till the arrival of Bernadotte. Under the administration of the latter, the country was greatly relieved by the system of economy he introduced into the whole army. The maintenance of the generals in Hanover was reduced one half, by their being obliged to have their food from the royal kitchen, and that of the generals in the provinces one-third. The officers were enjoined, on their honour, to have their meals at their own expense, for which they received additional pay every month. The privates were, in like manner, restricted to their allowance, and not permitted to demand any thing but vegetables, and the preparation of their food. He also kept a strict eye over the commissaries, and lowered their salaries. In all these regulations he appeared to be guided by a consideration for the people's distress; and, in justice to his character, it ought to be stated, that he was friendly to the poor, and performed many acts of charity from his own private purse.

For the Literary Magazine.

GUIACUM.

MR. BRANDE has laid before the Royal Society of London some original experiments made on guaiacum, from which he infers, that it is a substance very different from those which are denominated resins, and that it is also different from all those which are enumerated amongst balsams, gum-resins, gums, and extracts. Most probably, Mr. Brande says, it is a substance distinct in its nature from any of those above enumerated, in consequence of certain peculiarities in the proportions and chemical combination of its constituent elementary principles. At any rate he regards guaiacum as composed of a resin modified by the vege-

table extractive principle, and, as such, it may be denominated an extracto resin without impropriety. Mr. Brande has been led to these conclusions from observing the action of different solvents on guaiacum, whence it appeared, that, although this substance possesses many properties in common with resinous bodies, it nevertheless differs from them in the following particulars: 1. By affording a portion of vegetable extract. 2. By the curious alterations which it undergoes when subjected to the action of bodies which readily communicate oxygen, such as nitric and oxy-muriatic acids; and the rapidity with which it dissolves in the former. 3. By being converted into a more perfect resin; in which respect guaiacum bears some resemblance to the green resin which constitutes the colouring matters of the leaves of trees. 4. By yielding oxalic acid. 5. By the quantity of charcoal and lime which are obtained from it when subjected to destructive distillation.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON VEGETATION.

AN interesting paper on the direction of the radicle and germen during the vegetation of seeds, was lately presented to the Royal Society, by T. A. Knight, Esq. It is known that in whatever position a seed is placed to germinate, its radicle invariably makes an effort to descend towards the centre of the earth, whilst the elongated germen takes precisely an opposite direction. By some these effects have been accounted for by gravitation; to ascertain this, Mr. Knight commenced a course of experiments; he concluded that if gravitation were the cause, it could only produce these effects while the seed remained at rest, and in the same position relative to the attraction of the earth, and that its operation would become suspended by constant and rapid

change of the position of the germinating seed, and that it might be counteracted by the agency of centrifugal force. In a strong rill of water he constructed a wheel similar to those used for grinding corn, and to this he adapted another wheel eleven inches in diameter, round the circumference of which he attached numerous seeds of the garden bean. The radicles of these seeds were made to point in every direction, some towards the centre of the wheel, and others in an opposite direction. The whole was inclosed in a box, and secured by a lock, and a wire grate was placed to prevent the ingress of any body capable of impeding the motion of the wheels. The water being admitted, the wheels performed something more than 150 revolutions in a minute; and the position of the seeds relative to the earth was, of course, as often perfectly inverted, within the same period of time, by which it was imagined the influence of gravitation must have been wholly suspended. In a few days the seeds began to germinate: the radicles, in whatever direction they were protruded from the position of the seed, turned their points outwards from the circumference of the wheel, and receded nearly at right angles from its axis. The germens, on the contrary, took the opposite direction, and in a few days their points all met in the centre of the wheel. Three of these plants were suffered to remain on the wheel, and the stems soon extended beyond the centre of the wheel, but their points returned and met again at its centre.

Mr. Knight then instituted another experiment, and from them both concludes, that the radicles of germinating seeds are made to descend, and their germens to ascend, by some external cause, and not by any power inherent in vegetable life: and doubts not that gravitation is the principal, if not the only agent employed, in this case, by nature. He next endeavours to point out the means by which the same agent may

produce effects so diametrically opposite to each other.

The radicle of a germinating seed is increased in length only by new parts successively added to its apex, and not by any general extension of parts already formed: and the new matter which is thus successively added descends in a fluid state from the cotyledons. On this fluid, and on the vegetable fibres and vessels whilst soft and flexible, and whilst the matter which composes them is changing from a fluid to a solid state, gravitation would operate sufficiently to give an inclination downwards to the point of the radicle.

As the radicle is increased in length only by parts successively added to its point, the germen, on the contrary, elongates by a general extension of its parts previously organized; and its vessels and fibres appear to extend themselves in proportion to the quantity of nutriment they receive. If the motion and consequent distribution of the true sap be influenced by gravitation, it follows, that when the germen, at its first emission, or subsequently, deviates from a perpendicular direction, the sap must accumulate on its under side: and, in a great variety of experiments on the seeds of a horse chesnut, the bean, and other plants, when vegetating at rest, the vessels and fibres on the under side of the germen invariably elongate much more rapidly than those on its upper side: and thence it follows that the point of the germen must always turn upwards. And it has been proved that a similar increase of growth takes place on the external side of the germen when the sap is impelled there by centrifugal force, as it is attracted by gravitation to its under side when the seed germinates at rest.

This increased elongation of the fibres and vessels of the under side is not confined to the germens, nor even to the annual shoots of trees, but occurs and produces the most extensive effects in the subsequent growth of their trunks and branches. The immediate effect of gravitation

is certainly to occasion the further depression of every branch which extends horizontally from the trunk of the tree; and when a young tree inclines to either side, to increase that inclination: but it, at the same time, attracts the sap to the under side, and thus occasions an increased longitudinal extension of the substance of the new wood on that side. The depression of the lateral branch is thus prevented, and it is even enabled to raise itself above its natural level when the branches above it are removed; and the young tree, by the same means, becomes more upright in direct opposition to the immediate action of gravitation: nature, as usual, executing the most important operations by the most simple means.

To this doctrine the most important objection is, that few branches rise perpendicularly upwards, and that roots always spread horizontally: to this it may be answered, that the luxuriant shoots of trees which abound in sap, in whatever direction they are first obtruded, almost uniformly turn upwards, and endeavour to acquire a particular direction: and to this their points will immediately return, if they are bent downwards during any period of their growth; their curvature upwards being occasioned by an increased extension of the fibres and vessels of their under sides, as in elongated germens of seeds. The more feeble and slender shoots of the same trees will, on the contrary, grow in almost every direction, probably because their fibres, being more dry, and their vessels less amply supplied with sap, they are less affected by gravitation. Their points, however, generally show an inclination to turn upwards, but the operation of light, in this case, has been proved to be very considerable.

The radicle tapers rapidly as it descends into the earth, and its lower part is much compressed by the greater solidity of the mould into which it penetrates. The true sap also continues to descend from the

cotyledons and leaves, and occasions a continued increase of the growth of the upper parts of the radicle, and this growth is consequently augmented by the effects of motion, when the germen has risen above the ground. The true sap is therefore necessarily obstructed in its descent: numerous lateral roots are generated, into which a portion of the descending sap enters. The substance of these roots, like that of the slender horizontal branches, is less succulent than that of the radicle first emitted, and they are in consequence less obedient to gravitation; and meeting less resistance from the superficial soil than from that beneath it, they extend horizontally in every direction, growing with most rapidity, and producing the greatest number of ramifications, wherever they find most warmth, and a soil best adapted to nourish the tree. As these horizontal or lateral roots surround the base of the tree, the blue sap descending down its bark enters almost exclusively into them, and the first perpendicular root, having executed its office of securing moisture to the plant whilst young, is thus deprived of proper nutriment, and ceasing almost wholly to grow, becomes of no importance to the tree. The tap-root of the oak may be adduced as an exception; but, in 20,000 trees of this species, Mr. K. never found a single one possessing a tap-root. And he concludes by saying, "As trees possess the power to turn the upper surfaces of their leaves, and the points of their shoots to the light, and their tendrils in any direction to attach themselves to contiguous objects, it may be suspected that their lateral roots are, by some means, directed to any soil in their vicinity which is best calculated to nourish the plant to which they belong; and it is well known that much the greater part of the roots of an aquatic plant, which has grown in a dry soil, on the margin of a lake or river, have been found to point to the water; whilst those of another species of tree which thrives

best in a dry soil have been ascertained to take an opposite direction: but the result of some experiments led Mr. Knight to conclude, that the roots disperse themselves in every direction, and only become most numerous where they find most employment, and a soil best adapted to the species of the plant."

For the Literary Magazine.

THE FIRE FLY.

INSECTS commonly known by the name of fire-flies, abound in America and the south of Europe. They resemble, in their size and external appearance, some flies known in the north. Their shape is oblong; their wings are covered with an outward shell, like insects of the beetle tribe; the head is red, with a black spot in the centre. In the dark, when they perch or creep, nothing is observable; but as often as they rise to fly, a bright light is perceived. This is not constant during their flight, but recurs every other instant, as if it were disclosed by the opening of their wings at each successive expansion. When laid upon their back they give out this light constantly, and have much difficulty in turning themselves. The light, when thus examined, is a clear, phosphorescent or lambent flame, of a green or light blue, inclining to yellow. It is very considerable even in one fly; and the light of three or four is sufficient to render small objects around quite visible. It is apparent in twilight. When these insects are examined by daylight, their bellies are perceived to be distinctly divided about the middle, by a line passing across the body. The under part is of a bright yellow, resembling in colour, smoothness, and in every particular, a bit of fine clean straw; the rest of the belly is quite black; the yellow part alone is luminous. When the fly is dead, the luminous appearance still continues for two or three days.

If the yellow part be cut off, it shines as brightly as before ; and if rubbed between the fingers, a luminous greasy matter, like the bowels, oozes out, tinging the fingers, wherever it touches, with the same kind of lambent flame. This friction speedily terminates the phenomenon, apparently by exhausting the supply of luminous matter. Air is by no means necessary, or at all conducive to this process of phosphorescence : on the contrary, under water, or other liquids, the flies shine as much as in the air.

Here, we have an animal process at first sight resembling the slow combustion of the blood in the lungs, rendered visible by the extrication of light. No oxygenation, however, attends it. It cannot be explained by saying that light is absorbed, and then given out ; for, if the animal be kept alive for months in a dark place, the luminous appearance continues ; and if it dies, that appearance survives but a short time. Something is evidently secreted, which burns or radiates with a lambent flame, and which does not owe this luminous quality to any previous contact with light.

For the Literary Magazine.

BOOK COLLECTORS.

HOW much are booksellers indebted to that numerous tribe of virtuosos who buy books, not to read them, but to place them in agreeable order on a shelf or in a book-case !

This passion for collecting books seems pretty much on a level with that for collecting old coins, but is much less respectable than that for collecting mineralogical, botanical, or zoological specimens. Knowledge directly flows from the inspection of the latter, and they are perceived by every one that enters the museum ; but no knowledge that merits the name is derived from viewing the

outsides of books, and the formers of private libraries, on a large scale, have seldom any design of reading their books, or any power to do so, if they had the inclination.

One of the most painful reflections that can occur to the minds of these curious collectors, is connected with the necessary termination of human life, in consequence of which they are sensible that a collection, formed with the expence of so much time, labour, and money, is liable to be utterly despised and lost, under the magical influence of an auctioneer's hammer.

There is, indeed, an expedient, often practised, for eluding this catastrophe. This is by bequeathing the collection to the public, or to some public institution. It is, accordingly, in this way that almost every public library existing has either originated, or been subsequently extended.

When I see a vast and curious library, in the formation of which an ingenious person has laid out an immense fortune and infinite pains, advertised for public sale, I cannot help indulging an apostrophe on the vanity of all human schemes.

The French revolution affords many striking examples of this kind of subversion and ruin : the most memorable of which are the three following.

The first of these libraries, which was that of Lamoignon, was thought to be the most splendid and select of any in France. This had formerly belonged to William de Lamoignon, first president of the parliament of Paris, in the time of Louis XIV, who lavished prodigious sums in procuring the collection of all works of excellent taste and erudition. It became afterwards successively the property of Berryer, lord keeper of France, and of Lamoignon his son-in-law. Berryer exerted indefatigable diligence in getting into his possession the best editions of every work, always making it his business to procure the most perfect and finest known copies, for strength of paper, excellence of pre-

servation, elegance of binding, and width of margin. With respect to the modern editions of works, even of such as were published in foreign countries, he always directed his agents to get them for him, if possible, in boards; and when he had collected a variety of copies, he made choice of a perfect one out of the number, which he afterwards ordered to be bound in the best Morocco.

Lamoignon, equally inspired with this hereditary passion for bibliography, submitted the catalogue of his grandfather's library to a rigid examen of learned men, with orders to discard all ordinary editions, and all works of which later and better editions were to be had. (The learned Adrien Baillet, librarian to the first M. de Lamoignon, had been chiefly consulted in the arrangement of the original library.) A new catalogue was however now executed, in the analytical mode, consisting of 35 vols. in folio, in which all the MSS. were preserved, together with all the books which M. Berryer had added to the collection; while many, which had now become unnecessary, were expunged. The two libraries were then consolidated into one, and M. de Lamoignon, with unceasing care, was continually augmenting it. In 1770, he printed a catalogue of the library, in one volume in folio. There were upwards of 5000 volumes bound in Morocco, green, red, blue, and yellow; many also were lined with tabby; by far the greater number were large paper copies, and some were printed on vellum. It is a circumstance highly to be regretted, that this magnificent collection is now dispersed.

Another very valuable library was that of the late cardinal de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, the catalogue of which was published by Debure, in three volumes 8vo. in 1792. The two first volumes of this catalogue, entitled, *Index Librorum ab inventa Typographia*, contained a most curious relation of the original of the invention of printing, with a similar his-

tory of engravings in wood and copper, and a prodigious number of the first editions of the Greek and Latin classics. The last volume contained the most superb and accurate modern editions of the same classics; authors, in large paper; a great number of books printed on vellum; prayer-books, by Nic. Farry, decorated with flowers and miniatures; several books of cuts; a grand assemblage of the finest books of antiquities; and a most beautiful and complete collection of travels, by *Theodore de Brie*, in twenty-nine volumes in folio, bound in a style of incomparable elegance. The bulk of this splendid library was sold in retail, at the Hotel de Bouillon, many articles of it having been previously conveyed abroad and dispersed.

For the Literary Magazine.

CLASSICAL OBSCURITIES.

THE difficulties that attend the comprehension of the classical Roman writers are totally unknown to common readers. They go on rendering English word for Latin word, and imagine that they understand the poet because they find an English counterpart for his Latin phrase or sentence: whereas their crude and uninformed minds collect no congruous ideas from the page. When they attempt to step from sounds to things, they leap into a chaos which furnishes no footing, no track, no guide.

Virgil's Georgics are generally read at school, and yet all our industry could not select more unprofitable, because more unintelligible, reading for a school-boy than this celebrated poem. It is an agricultural treatise, the principles and instructions of which are scarcely to be comprehended by persons of mature age, whom long experience has made thoroughly acquainted with the art to which it relates. It has, however, many other difficulties, be-

sides those arising from our ignorance of Roman husbandry. The following lines from the fourth Georgic afford a curious specimen of classical obscurity, and of the fruitless pains and profound learning which have been expended in decyphering a mystery, and reconciling a seeming contradiction.

Täygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
Pleias, et oceani spretos pede repulit amnes :
Aut eadem, sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi,
Tristior hibernas cælo descendit in undas.

These lines are thought to point out the astronomical characters of the two seasons of the year, at which it was usual to take the honey from the hives of the bees : one season, according to all commentators, being ascertained by the *heliacal* rising of the *Lucida Pleiadum*, in the middle of May ; the other, by the *cosmical* setting of the same star, in the beginning of November.

But in this exposition a very great difficulty occurs. How is it, that Taygeta, setting cosmically, i. e., at sunrise, is considered as running away from Pisces ? Pisces set in the morning before the Pleiads, lying to the west of them. When Taygeta is setting cosmically, Pisces is already set ; and not a star of that constellation is visible above the horizon in any part of the sky.

All have felt this difficulty. Petavius justly says it is insuperable : expositors of less science are content to say, that the circumstance of flying from Pisces is thrown in only for ornament, to enrich the description. But they have omitted to inform us, in what way nonsense can enrich or adorn ; or to produce instances, as they ought to have done, of Virgil's propensity to this sort of ornament.

The learned Heyne imagines, that this circumstance, though unintelligible with reference to any thing in the sky, may have allusion to some delineation of the heavens on a

plane ; in which the relative situation of the constellations was such, as to give an appearance of the Pleiad running away from the Fish. This able critic has not informed us, in what planesphere, ancient or modern, he had seen the relative position of the Pleiads and Pisces so represented ; or according to what projection it could be so represented. The constellation of Pisces is always before the Pleiads, in the order of the diurnal revolution ; and it is not usual in a flight, for the pursuer to keep a given distance before the fugitive.

The learned Dr. Horsley, who has lately published a book upon the subject, explains this matter by substituting the *acromychal* rising of the Pleiad for the *heliacal* rising, and the *evening*-setting of the Pleiads for the *cosmical* setting : the first phenomenon marks the middle of September, and the second, the 13th of April. In this evening setting, Taygeta, in poetical conception, may seem to fly from Pisces : for in the season at which the Pleiads are setting in the evening, the stars of Pisces are rising heliacally in the morning ; and, to the imagination of a poet, Taygeta plunges herself into the waters of the ocean, scared at the appearance of Pisces in the eastern sky.

This circumstance of Taygeta flying from Pisces was intended as a circumstance of specification, in order to distinguish the evening setting from the *cosmical* setting, when no such appearance takes place.

This exposition is liable to two objections. The first is, that it may seem strange, that the setting of the star, so late in the spring, should be called a descending *hibernas in undas*. But the obvious answer is, that the epithet *hibernas* is not to be understood of the season of the winter, but renders "stormy" at any season. The second objection is of more weight ; namely, that the middle of April seems too early a season to find any honey in the hives at all ; and this would be insuperable, if it were true, that the bees in Italy re-

vived not from their torpid state before the heliacal rising of the Pleiads ; which cannot be put earlier than the middle of May. And yet Pliny says, that in warmer climates the bees awake so early as the acronychal rising of Arcturus ; for which he assigns the 23d of February : but *in Italy*, he says, they remain in their torpid state till the heliacal rising of the pleiads. Now this cannot possibly be true ; at least it is utterly irreconcilable with what he says of the taking of the honey of the flowers ; which, he says, was practised *every where* : therefore, in Italy as well as in warmer climates. And yet the commencement of this *mellatio verna*, he says, was precisely on the thirtieth day after the swarming of the hive, and it was over before the end of May.

If the bees revived not before the middle of May, it is impossible that the hive should swarm before the middle of June, and the thirtieth day from the swarming would fall in the middle of July ; and since the season lasted at least a fortnight, the end of it will fall beyond the commencement of the *mellatio aestiva* ; and the bees would have no respite, to repair their loss after the first plunder of the hives. It is difficult to conceive, that all the passages in Pliny, in which the heliacal rising of the Pleiads is mentioned as the time of the reviviscence of the bees, are corrupt. But if this is not to be supposed, then we must suppose, either that Pliny was in an error ; or, that when he speaks of the honey taken thrice every where, *in quocumque tractu*, he writes rather carelessly, using a large expression subject to many limitations, which he has not expressed, and that Italy is among the exceptions.

Dr. Horsley once thought that this expression, *quocumque tractu*, might be understood of the particular regions, which he had mentioned just before, Sicily, Crete, Cyprus, Africa. But this supposition he afterwards rejected, for Germany is among the countries mentioned. On the supposition that Pliny ought to have made an exception of Italy with respect to the vernal honey, another supposition might be made : that Virgil, who certainly composed his Georgics not from any experience and observation of his own in all the various subjects of that work, but often copied earlier writers ; might, in this business of the bees, follow some writer of a warmer climate, without attending to the difference between that other climate and his own. But the *trina mellis vindemia* is mentioned by Varro, as he is quoted by Heyne. On the whole, therefore, he concludes, that the three honey harvests actually obtained in Italy, and that the vernal was one. That the slumber of the bees did not continue in Italy to the heliacal rising of the Pleiads, though they might not wake so early as the acronychal rising of Arcturus, and it is difficult to account for Pliny's mistake. However that may be, Taygeta's sinking herself in the sea, to hide herself from Pisces, is a just description of the evening setting of the star, and can be understood of nothing else ; and this can describe no honey season but the first, when they took the honey of the flowers.

How much erudition is here expended in interpreting a few lines ! and yet all these efforts fail to render this passage level to every capacity. None, indeed, but astronomers can comprehend the terms of these explanations.

POETRY.

For the Literary Magazine.

The following verses are supposed to be written by a gentle and timid young woman, pining under the oppression of a romantic and concealed passion for a man who entertained no suspicion of her attachment.

NOT one kind look—one friendly word!
Wilt thou in chilling silence sit,
Nor through the social hour afford
One cheering smile or beam of wit?

Yet still, absorb'd in studious care,
Neglect to waste one look on me;
For then my happy eyes may dare
To gaze and dwell uncheck'd on thee.

And still in silence sit, nor deign
One gentle, precious word to say;
For silent I may then remain,
Nor let my voice my soul betray.

This falt'ring voice, these conscious eyes,
My throbbing heart too plainly speak:
There timid hopeless passion lies,
And bids it *silence* keep, and *break*.

To me how dear this twilight hour,
Cheer'd by the faggot's varying blaze!
If this be mine, I ask no more
On morn's refulgent light to gaze:

For now, while on his glowing cheek
I see the fire's red radiance fall,
The darkest seat I softly seek,
And gaze on HIM, unseen by all.

His folded arms, his studious brow,
His thoughtful eye, unmark'd, I see;
Nor could his voice or words bestow
So dear, so true a joy on me.

But he forgets that I am near:
Fame, future fame, in thought he seeks;
To him ambition's paths appear,
And bright the sun of science breaks.

His heart with ardent hope is fill'd;
His prospects full of beauty bloom:
But, oh! my heart despair has chill'd,
My only prospect is—the tomb!

One only boon from Heaven I claim,
And may it grant the fond desire!
That I may live to hear his fame,
And in that throb of joy *extire*.

One little moment, short as blest,
Compassion Love's soft semblance wore,

My meagre form he fondly press'd,
And on his beating bosom bore.

His frame with strong emotion shook,
And kindness tun'd each falt'ring word;

While I, surpris'd, with anxious look
The meaning of his glance explor'd.

But soon my too experienc'd heart
Read nought but generous pity there;
I felt presumptuous hope depart,
And all again was dark despair.

Yet still, in memory still, my heart
Lives o'er that fleeting bliss again;
I feel his glance, his touch, impart
Emotion through each bursting vein.

And "Once (I cry) those eyes so sweet
On me with fondness deign'd to shine;
For once I felt his bosom beat
Against the conscious throbs of mine!"

Nor shall the dear remembrance die
While aught to me of life is given;
But soothe my last convulsive sigh,
And be, till then, my joy, my heaven!

For the Literary Magazine.

TO ELIZA, WITH A DOVE.

ACCEPT, dear maid, the most delightful bird

That ever Venus to her chariot bound;
By Love adopted, and by Peace preferred,

For meekness valu'd, and for faith renowned.

A bird, in which such rare perfections meet,

Alone is worthy to be counted thine:
His beauty, fair one, is, like your's, complete,

And his fidelity resembles mine.

Response.

TO JULIUS, WITH A GOOSE.

Swain, I accept your all-accomplished dove,

With rapture listen to his plaintive moan,

And vow with constancy the bird to love,
Whose beauty thus reminds me of my own.

I cannot prove my gratitude too soon,
For such a mark of tenderness conferr'd;
So song for song be thine, and boon for boon,
Kindness for kindness, swain, and bird for bird.

Lo the best fowl the barn-yard can produce,
My choice has singled from a *tuneful* group;
Accept, *sweet* bard, from me as *great a* *goose*
As e'er was fatten'd in a poult'rer's coop.

Your verse the merit of the dove displays:
The compliments I pay my bird are few;
Yet 'tis, methinks, no niggard share of praise
To say how strongly he resembles you.

For the Literary Magazine.

LINES

ON THE DEATH OF JOHN ALLEN,

*Who departed this life on the third day of
February, 1806.*

AH, cruel Death! why with untimely frost
Dost thou delight to nip the tender flow'r?
A shining ornament of science lost,
When Allen fell a victim to thy power.

Scarce seventeen summers o'er his head
had roll'd,
Scarce had his budding worth began
to bloom,
When Death approach'd, with meagre form, and told
That he must fall a victim to the tomb.

If friends, if wealth, if earthly power
could save,
Thy arm, O Death, had not the vic-
t'ry gain'd;
But vain, alas! is every human aid,
When once opposed against Jehovah's reign.

Yes, he was dear to all who knew his worth,
Each breast for him the pensive sigh
doth give;
Though he's united to his kindred earth,
Yet in their memory still his virtues live.

In his young breast bright Honour
rear'd her throne,
In his great mind fair Wisdom's in-
fluence spread,
While firm Integrity claim'd him her own,
And threw her dazzling lustre round
his head.

Firmness of soul still marked the path
he trod,
His breast was warmed by virtue's sa-
cred flame;
He bow'd to each decree assigned by
God,
And bore with resignation ev'ry pain.

Ah, why then mourn for him, ye pa-
rents dear,
Since he's removed from this vain
world below?
Ah, why then shed the fond regretting
tear?
Where he has gone all sorrow cease
and woe.

Rather rejoice his happy spirit's free'd,
And flown to taste of purer joys
above;
Our blessed Saviour once for him did
bleed,
That he might dwell in everlasting
love.

E. B. W.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, 1616.

RENOWNED Spenser, lye a thought
more nigh
To learned Chaucer; and, rare Beau-
mont, lye

A little nearer Spenser ; to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold,
fourfold tombe.
To lodge all foure in one bed make a
shift,
Until doom's day ; for hardly will a
fifth,
Between this day and that by fates be
slaine,
For whom your curtaines may be drawn
again.

For the Literary Magazine.

The following ode is said to have been written by a lady, in the north of England, who for many years had been oppressed with a hopeless consumption.

ODE TO SICKNESS.

NOT to the rosy maid, whom former
hours
Beheld me fondly covet, tune I now
The melancholy lyre : no more I seek
Thy aid, *Hygeia** ! sought so long in
vain :
But, 'tis to thee, O *Sickness*, 'tis to thee
I wake the silent strings. Accept the
lay
Thou art no tyrant, warring the fierce
scourge
O'er unresisting victims ; but a nymph,
Of mild, though mournful mein. Upon
thy brow
Patience sits smiling ; and whose heavy
eye,
Tho' moist with tears, is always fixed
on Heaven.
Thou wrapps't the world in gloom ;
but thou canst tell
Of worlds where all is sunshine : and
at length,
When thro' this vale of sorrow thou
hast led
Thy patient suff'ers, cheering them
the while
With many a smile of promise, thy
pale hand
Unlocks the bowers of everlasting rest ;
Where death's kind angel waits to dry
their tears,
And crown them with his amaranthine
flowers.

* The goddess of health.

Yet I have known thee long ! and
I have felt
All that thou hast of sorrow. Many a tear
Has fall'n on my cold cheek ; and many
a sigh
Call'd forth by thee, has swell'd my
aching breast :
Yet still I bless thee. O thou chas-
t'ning pow'r !
For all I bless thee ! Thou hast taught
my soul
To rest upon *itself* ; to look beyond
The narrow bound of time, and fix its
hopes
On the sure basis of eternity.

Meanwhile, even in this transito-
ry scene,
Of what hast thou deprived me ? Has
thy hand
Clos'd up the book of knowledge,
drawn a veil
O'er the fair face of nature ; or des-
troyed
The tender pleasures of domestic life ?
Ah no ! 'tis thine to call forth in the
heart
Each better feeling : thou awakenest
there
That unconfined *philanthropy*, which
feels
For all the unhappy—that warm *sym-
pathy*
Which, casting every selfish care aside,
Finds its own bliss in seeing others
blest—
That *melancholy*, tender, yet sublime,
Which, feeling all the nothingness of
earth,
Exalts the soul to Heaven ; and, more
than these,
That pure *devotion*, which, even in the
hour
Of agonizing pain, can fill the eyes
With tears of ecstasy—such tears, per-
haps,
As angels love to shed.

These are thy gifts, O *Sickness* !
These to me
Thou hast vouchsafed, and taught me
how to prize.
Shall my soul shrink from aught thou
hast ordain'd ?
Shall I e'en envy the luxurious train,
Around whose path Prosperity has
strewn
Her gilded toys ? Ah ! let them still
pursue
The shining trifles ! never shall they
know

Such pure and holy pleasures as await
The heart refin'd by suffering. Not to
them
Does Fancy sing her wild romantic
song:
'Tis not for them her glowing hand un-
draws
The sacred veil that hides the angelic
world;
They hear not in the music of the wind
Celestial voices, that in whispers sweet,
Call to the flowers—the young and
bashful flowers!
They see not, at the shadowy hour of
eve,
Descending spirits, who on silver wing
Glide thro' the air, and to their harps
divine
Sing, in soft notes, the vesper hymn of
praise;
Or, pausing for a moment, as they turn
Their radiant eyes on this polluted scene
Drop on their golden harps a pitying
tear.

Prosperity! I count thy gifts no
more.
Nor *thine*, O fair Hygeia! Yet to thee
I breath one fervent prayer; attend the
strain:
If, for my faded brow, thy hand pre-
pare
Some future wreath, let me the gift re-
sign;
Transfer the rosy garland; bid it bloom
Around the temples of that friend, be-
loved,
On whose maternal bosom, even now,
I lay my aching head! and, as I mark
The smile that plays upon her speaking
face,
Forget that I have ever shed a tear!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALFRED—Gulielmo to Gulielma—"Cynthia the saint free from sin,"
&c. are not sufficiently correct for publication.

Diogenes would be a valuable correspondent to the "Spirit of the Press."

Mr. Clark's statements of the Louisiana soil and products have been already set apart for re-publication in this work. The editor heartily concurs with *Agricola*.

Martin's portrait of a good wife is good enough for a *likeness*, but not sufficiently laboured for a *picture*. A devil by Raphael is better than a sign-post angel.

The *Traveller's* communications will be gratefully received. An early communication is requested.

Theron will be returned when called for. The *Missionary Magazine* is the proper repository for communications of this nature. The editor endeavours to avoid all polemics, whether religious or political.

There are several communications, on which, agreeably to the request of the writers, the editor is silent.